EMPIRE CLUB ADDRESSES

1942-43

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.
President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1942-43

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE
MEMBERS DURING THE
YEAR 1942-43

Fortieth Year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

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The Empire Club of Canada

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YEAR 1942-43

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"BRITAIN AND CANADA—BROTHERS IN ARMS"

AN ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE BIRKETT

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Monday, June 1, 1942

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club and Guests:

This is the first meeting of the Club's new year and a very auspicious beginning it is.

We are particularly happy to have with us such a large number of distinguished representatives of Church and State, of Bench and Bar, of Education and Industry, a loyal citizenry who have come together to do honour to another loyal and distinguished citizen of Empire.

This loyal and distinguished citizen, the guest speaker, needs no introduction to this Club. He is a more regular attendant at our meetings than many of our regular members. He addressed us as recently as last September.

For many years prior to the outbreak of war, Mr. William Norman Birkett was an eminent lawyer, one of His Majesty's Counsel, practicing in the Midland Circuit. When war was declared his abilities were requisitioned by the Government and he became Chairman of the Home Office Advisory Committee dealing with interned aliens. These services were recognized in the early part of 1941 by a gracious Sovereign who conferred upon him the title of Knight Bachelor.

In the autumn of 1941 he was elevated from Bar to Bench, and to-day he comes to us as The Honourable Sir

Norman Birkett, Justice of The King's Bench Division of The High Court. His legal ability has thus been recognized but one should not forget that he has been a Member of Parliament in the Liberal interest and also, that, on the authority of his Toronto host, Mr. D. L. McCarthy, he had, at birth, been kissed on both forehead and lips by the attendant fairies.

The Honourable Sir Norman Birkett. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE SIR NORMAN BIRKETT: After that very kindly introduction by the President, I feel that my first duty is to try to express to you the sense of honour and privilege I experienced in being allowed to come to The Empire Club for the second time. I have made so many speeches recently in Toronto and elsewhere, that I am a little fearful about embarking upon another, particularly in the presence of so many distinguished representatives of every phase of Canadian life.

But, I have found one element universal in all the audiences I have been privileged to see, and that was a kindliness of welcome, a warmth of friendly feeling which overlooks all shortcomings and makes one instantly at home. So you will allow me in my opening words to express to you from the heart, the sense of pride and pleasure it is to be here once more, although, Sir, I shall not detain you at any great length.

When I was in the United States of America only a few days ago there were two incidents which I think should be taken to heart by every public speaker. Certainly I have laid them on my heart. The first was when a distinguished American lawyer was addressing a very great audience. He told of how his luggage was attended to by a Southern Negro who had a cut upon his face which ran from the ear to the mouth, and when this distinguished American lawyer asked the Negro whether the cut was done with a razor or with a knife, the answer came, "With a knife".

Said the American lawyer, "How came you to get a cut upon your face like that with a knife?" And the

Southern Negro said with a wonderful smile radiating his face, "Well, sir, maybe I was talking when I should have been listening".

Mr. President, being the receptive man I am, those words went home. They were reinforced a day or two later, also in the United States, when I was speaking at a meeting connected with Harvard University.

A very distinguished man attached to this University told how a man had once come there to that meeting and he addressed them upon the word "Harvard", and he took the letters of the word: H for honour; A for ambition; R for revolution; V for victory; and so on. The speech was interminable and as the audience dispersed one man said to another, "Well, thank God it wasn't the Massachusetts Institute of Technology".

Well, Mr. President, with these admonitions most firmly in my mind and heart, you may be quite sure that I shall not exceed the ordinary bounds in a speech of this kind. But I value this opportunity more than I can say to speak to you on certain things connected with Britain and with Canada which together we have so much at heart.

I cannot think of anything more appropriate with which to begin than to refer to that great feat which is in all our minds today and which has sent, I think, a great thrill throughout the world, that a thousand bombers were over Cologne last night. And it gave me a peculiar pride and a peculiar pleasure to read in the dispatches from London this morning that in that gallant and valiant band there were over a thousand Canadians; and I had a particular thrill, a particular pride, to see the photographs, and to see the names and to read the interviews with some of those Canadians who have honoured me by their presence in my own home in England. I have been to their stations, I have seen the bombers go out in the darkness, and therefore you can imagine that at this distance from my own home it was with a very special pride that I reflected upon that great feat of organization and that great display of valour. And, Mr. President, I will make bold to say that in the days to come the historian of the future may very well record that that notable achievement marked another distinct turning point in the history of this war and from that moment onward the doom of Hitler and all who hate the light was writ.

I dare say, Mr. President, that you are getting tired of hearing about the bearing of the British people in these days. Well, all I would like to say about it is this. It is rather a remarkable phenomenon in which we ought to take pride. After all, I have some conception of what a thousand bombers over Cologne must have meant. We have known in our own British cities five hundred German bombers at one and the same time, and the ordinary people of Britain who are utterly unaccustomed to any such form of warfare, who saw their homes, their houses, their belongings destroyed in a moment—death and disaster were all about the place—such was their spirit that they never wavered under any calamity, because their belief was then, as in every department of life, that we stand fast now for all the things which alone can make our life, and the lives of those who are to come after us, worth living.

And, Mr. President, you may ask where has all this money gone which has been raised by such sacrifice in Britain? What about the army? Well, again the Axis propagandists are busy. They say Britain keeps a big army at home behind its bayonets. It does—it does—because, as I say, the Island base must be kept inviolate. If that stands, all stands, if that falls, all falls. But also remember, won't you, two million of the soldiers in Britain are the Home Guard. Some of them are veterans of the last war, but every man is equipped, pledged and determined to defend every inch of that soil.

There are those men who are part-time soldiers—men who through the daytime are in the shops, the offices, the factories, the fields, but they are trained and equipped for that special task of defence. Many of them, to their very great honour, have volunteered for the Commando

Raids, about which I shall say a word in a moment. And behind those two million of Home Guards, there are trained soldiers, including the finest flower of the Canadian Regiments, given, as I have always said, the place of honour in defending the central base, the vital fortress.

But, at the same time, during the last two and a half years the armies of Britain and the Commonwealth have fought eleven campaigns in the different parts of the world, where great convoys have gone by day and night, protected by the armies of the British and Canadian Navies. Why? To supply and enforce the army in the Middle East. During one space of twelve months, three hundred ships were continuously employed, and although the record of the army in those theatres of war has been a varied one, wherever the British Army has been able to meet the enemy upon anything like equal terms, it has not failed to live up to its great tradition. (Applause.)

I need not add more. I do not need in an audience of this kind, at any rate, to say any more than that the Axis propagandists may perhaps waste their breath and waste their time.

I want to say a word about the Commando Raids. Up until quite recently they were composed almost entirely from the volunteers in the United Kingdom. I am glad to think now they have been reinforced by Canadians and by those from all parts of the United Empire. The story of the Commandos when all secrets are revealed will reveal a record of gallantry, devotion, and courage, the like of which the world has never seen. We naturally know little. Many of the raids are never mentioned. Some are.

There was the Commando raid in Libya, 40 miles behind the German lines, to capture General Rommel which nearly succeeded. There, 40 miles behind the lines, those men with their lives in their hands entered the very building where Rommel was supposed to be, and where he usually was. Commander Keyes was in command. They entered the building, the guards were quietly killed. The door of the room where Rommel sat was open, but to their surprise there were only two German officers—not Rommel. They were destroyed, also the guards on the stairs. They searched every room and finally when the hue and cry was made, the soldiers fought their way out. They split in bands of two, and one pair, the commanding officer and his sergeant, for forty-one days, lived and maintained themselves in that hostile country and finally got safely back to the British lines.

The effect upon the Germans in Norway can never be measured. I can tell you of a Commando raid made at a certain place where the German soldiers were free wheeling down the hill upon bicycles to a certain defence conrete post and as they rounded the bend, fearing nothing, they were all destroyed by the Commandos who had landed secretly. Imagine the effect of that upon the German everywhere. Then you read about the raid on St. Nazaire. When the destroyer Campbelltown goes in and rams the bay and the Commandos go ashore, knowing the odds are they will never see England again —what courage, what nobility! It is all part of the daily routine of the British Army, reinforced, I am glad now to think, by our Allies all over the world.

So, members of the Empire Club, I mention that that you too may take pride not only in those high achievements but that you may feel that your great confidence since September, 1939, was amply justified.

Now, Mr. President, let me say just one word with regard to the Air Force. The Battle of Britain will go down in history of course as one of the turning points of this war, when our Island was saved from invasion. It was difficult to realize it at the time. One read the reports. I shall never forget reading on the Sunday night about nearly three hundred Germans that had been brought down that Sunday, but we now know that the Battle of Britain really saved Britain from invasion. It is equally true that the Battle of Britain saved Freedom for all the World. (Applause.)

I could give you figures, if figures you needed, of the millions of miles flown by the aircraft of the Coastal Command over all seas, searching out the enemy, protecting our ships, and of the work of the Fighter and Bomber Command. The raid over Cologne indicates as nothing else could our growing strength in the air and of the devotion to the task of building the aircraft, and it is good at this distance of time to look back upon those days when we were almost helpless, in the days of the might of the German Airforce. We were then promised that the Germans would receive ton for ton, blow for blow. The Prime Minister said, with his happy gift, "If they can play rough, so can we". So today it is the German cities,—Lubeck, Rostock, Cologne, Kiel, Hamburg, Bremen—it is the German cities that are suffering those terrible visitations, and when the full weight of the United States of America comes into play, as it will, and soon, and the British and Canadian bombers are reinforced by the hosts of the United States, there must come a day when that mighty force which they have brought upon themselves, when that mighty force makes itself felt in the most unmistakable manner.

Those great battles—the Battle of Britain and the Battle of the Atlantic—have been of untold significance. Too often it is not grasped that Britain must import from thirty to forty million tons of goods every year to keep herself alive—food and the raw material for her industries, and most of it has to be brought by sea, and that great life-line has got to be kept open. The Royal Canadian Navy and the Navy of the United States of America and the British Navy, the Norwegian Navy, the Navies of our Allies—they are all combined in a task which when the secrets are made known, will stagger the majority of the world. Of men torpedoed thrice, adrift in a waste of water, but there was never a British ship that failed to put to sea for one of her crew, and the task of convoying your gallant soldiers to Britain is no mean undertaking. The Battle of the Atlantic goes on unceasingly. The U-boats, the surface craft, the long-range bombers, all have to be dealt with, and all the time, as I say, Britain is the base, with one consuming desire—to justify the great confidence placed in her, not only by the Commonwealth of Nations, not only by our great Allies, but by all the peoples of the world.

In Norway, as I now speak, freedom is not dead. The day will come when those great forces about which I have been speaking will be released again in Norway, and the other countries which for the moment are under enemy domination, and Freedom, that liberty of thought, that liberty of action, will one day render the world the place we intend it to be.

Now, just one word, Mr. President, with regard to the Home Front. In all the Services, in every department, there is a single-minded desire to search out the enemy and bring the day of victory near. On the Home Front and in the homes of the people the same spirit is manifest. I would not have you think that in Britain, despite all the regulations and the restrictions, the rationing of food and clothing, travel and light and heating, everything of which you can think—I would not have you believe for a moment that anybody suffers want or hardship. There are many things that we thought were necessities that we have found were not necessities at all, and the most striking thing is that the health of the people has never been better. I don't want to disparage the eating of food. It would be a difficult thing to do in Canada and the United States, but the fact remains that it would appear that a system of rationing has been good for us. Somebody told me the other day that the rationing of meat in England worked out at twenty cents per person a week. I don't quite know what you get for twenty cents; but none of these things really do more than disturb the surface of life.

People queue up and they tell about one lady who was walking down the street who saw a queue and she said, "What is that queue for?". Another lady said, "Oh that is for the 'Tales of Hoffman'." She said, "Oh, I had better join it, because my husband will eat anything."

Mr. President, with humour and a smile the little things and the big things have been confronted so that the great end may be achieved.

We have more than a million men in munitions. More than we had in 1918. We have millions of women in the Services, in the Civil Defences, in factories and, in a word, everybody is in some form of national service. Therefore, to me, it is the greatest delight in the world to come to Canada and find, as I do find, the essential spirit in Canada as it is in Britain.

I heard somebody say after my broadcast last night, "Well, the only fault I could find was I think you praised Canada a little too much". Well, it is a good fault—if it is a fault. I can only speak from the heart and tell you what I have seen. I have seen something of your war production. I see, almost every day of my life on the other side, at close quarters, Canadian soldiers, Canadian airmen, and it may very well be that I get a little biassed, but I can only say that Canada stands high in the estimation of Britain, not merely for what she has done and what she is doing, but for what she is and the spirit of Canada manifested, as it has been, during our dark days, when she came, so freely and so readily with help of the most material kind.

I can only say that I should be lacking in my duty if I did not express to you, not only the great admiration of the British people but their warm and their fervent thanks.

Perhaps, Sir, you would allow me to end up on this note. I have been for some six weeks in the United States of America. I am to stay for a few brief days in this great Dominion, and day by day I am more and more impressed by the great contribution which the English-speaking communities can make to the future of the world. You know we have one task before us now and it must be carried through to the exclusion of all else—Victory, which in my judgment is absolutely sure.

But do not let us fall into the error of imagining that when that day comes, as it will come, when the duty laid upon us, the high and solemn duty is discharged, as it will be discharged, do not let us make the mistake of believing that at that moment we sail into untroubled waters. The real task will then arise. The real duties will then begin, for, if we mean what we say, we are determined this time that out of all this trouble and turmoil and horror, it is not beyond the wit of man to devise a world in which man can live where no more can these things be.

In Britain certainly there is one clear and determined purpose, that whatever comes out of this war there must come some organization, some system which will make it impossible for any one nation to unloose the horror upon the world which we have seen, and to the building of that great structure, Canada, the United States and Britain can make a notable contribution.

Members of the Empire Club, we may not live to see it. We can at least take part in the laying of the foundation of that great structure in which there can be preserved all the nobilities, the chivalries, the graces, the things which lend life value. We can at least take part in the laying of the foundation, and I believe if we stand together, as we will, with the co-operation of our Allies, and of free men everywhere, on the foundation that we lay, most assuredly, there will one day rise the structure whose towers and pinnacles will rise right up into the sunlight.

Let me end by again acknowledging the pride and the honour it is to come here, the stimulus, the sustenance it is to be with those with whom one feels an instinctive kinship, and I wish you in all your endeavour now and in the future Godspeed. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen, you will wish me to thank The Honourable Sir Norman for this magnificent and informative and inspiring address, and this I very heartily do, Sir.

The Solicitors' Journal, in its issue of November, 1941, immediately after the elevation of Sir Norman to the Bench, had this to say:

"The eloquence, however, which has charmed Juries and swayed Judges will not be entirely lost to the public but will be secured both as an ornament and an instrument of justice."

I am sure that we agree with that sentiment this afternoon. We are also grateful to Sir Norman's Toronto host, Mr. D. L. McCarthy, for making this meeting so interesting for us, by making it possible that Sir Norman should come and address us after this manner. Thank you, Mr. McCarthy. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the meeting is adjourned.

"HOW GOES THE WAR?"

AN ADDRESS BY

CAPTAIN BERNARD NEWMAN

Chairman:

The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, July 30, 1942

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Before we call upon the guest-speaker, I thought you might be interested to know that we have with us today among our guests, Lieutenant-Commander Bernard of H.M.C.S. *York* and Vice Air-Marshal Johnston. It is their first public appearance among us since their most recent appointments.

Many of us have read a book called *Spy*, a book that between 1935 and 1938 ran to twelve printings. This book, as the author says, is a record, a history of the highlights of his Secret Service career in the war of 1914-1918. It has been used as a text book in Russia and it has been banned in Germany. The author, who, by the way, is the grand-nephew of George Eliot, known to most of us by Tom and the lovable Maggie Tulliver in *The Mill on the Floss,* has written some forty-five other well known books. He has had an unusually interesting career. He has been successively, and often contemporaneously, actor, soldier, member of the British Intelligence Service, author, traveller, lecturer—and the young man is not yet fifty years of age.

His success as a lecturer has been outstanding and during the twelve years before the present war he gave 2,000 lectures in twenty European countries. As he was telling some of us yesterday, he has travelled considerably by bicycle in Continental Europe. On these journeys, it was his custom to dress in knickers or shorts and to go into remote villages and other places not usually touched by people on a grand tour. He talked with the villagers and the people of the countryside and gained their goodwill and confidence. A traveller of this kind would naturally remain long in the memories of these natives, a fact which has prompted him in his European broadcasts today to address himself directly to them by reminding them of their English friend who wore shorts and travelled by bicycle. And who can tell how much these personal messages of hope and encouragement are adding to the morale and the confidence of these good people!

You will be interested to know that this gentleman has met Mr. Hitler in person. You will be glad to know that he has been outlawed from Italy.

Members of The Empire Club, I present to you this gentleman, Captain Bernard Newman, our guest-speaker. (Applause.)

CAPTAIN BERNARD NEWMAN: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I would like to begin with just a word of thanks, not only to you but to Canada. So far I have been in Canada only some two or three weeks, but even before I came over here I knew we had a lot to thank Canada for; for what Canada has done, and for the bigger things that she is going to do.

I have been most impressed even back in Britain at the gifts that have flowed over from Canada. I was more than impressed when I read that Canada had given to the Old Country a gift, not a loan, of $1,000,000.000. I wish you had been in Britain that day when that gift was announced. There was nothing dramatic about it—there never is, as you know, in Britain. We suffer from a lack of drama, although it is one of our greatest assets. There was nothing very dramatic, but you saw the same scene played time and time again in the railway carriages as men were reading the newspapers. They would say, "See this? Canada has given us $1,000,000,000". And then a silence—a silence which meant a good deal more than words.

And I would thank you, too, for the men you have sent across; and the more men who are waiting their turn to come across when they are required; and those who will come forward to come across when the moment arises.

Just before I came over here I spent a week with the Canadian Forces in Britain, and you may take my word they are a grand lot, and they are in grand form, and they are on grand terms with the local people. They are very impatient, naturally. They wouldn't be Canadians if they weren't, but they are there to do a job, and when the job comes to do they will do it. I wish I could describe to you the confidence these men give in the villages through which they march.

I remember one rather human incident which illustrated that point. I went to visit a section of a Canadian anti-aircraft battery. They had two guns stuck out in the country, and there was a small cottage near by. An old lady lived there alone in the cottage. She couldn't do very much for the Canadian soldiers—there was thirty or forty of them—all she could do was boil hot water, mend their socks and that kind of thing, but they looked on her as a sort of grandmother. The night before I arrived there had been a raid, and I said to the old lady, "Weren't you afraid?" She said, "Well, I was a bit frightened at first when I heard the airplanes. I was in bed. Then our guns began to fire and I thought, 'Ah, those Canadian laddies will look after me', so I turned over and went to sleep again."

Now, I am to talk to you on a rather general subject and to answer a very big question: How goes the war? I will give the answer right now. I won't hedge. The war goes at least as well as we had any reason or right to expect. We couldn't expect too much just now. You can't give a powerful opponent seven years start and catch up in five minutes. We haven't caught him up yet. The point is we are catching him up.

I remember General Plummer, who so many of us remember with great affection from the last war, saying to me once, "When you hit your opponent, it is important to hit him hard and at the right place, but it is just as important to hit him at the right second." You know, he was right. Timing is the very art of war. Just as when playing cricket, if you hit the ball at the right second in the right place it is a boundary, and if you are a fraction of a second too early or a fraction of a second too late you are out. It is just the same in warfare. Timing is one of the main keys to the war.

I remember about a year ago meeting two New Zealand soldiers. I met many of them in London, but I found these two men rather down in the mouth. It surprised me immensely. I had always held, and I have not the slightest doubt the old soldiers here will agree with me, that New Zealanders are among the finest soldiers in the world. But these two fellows were definitely down. I began to talk with them. One said, "You don't expect us to feel very cheery, do you? We have been through two disasters. We were in Greece when they knocked Greece out, and then we were in Crete and they bundled us out of there. You don't expect us to be very cocky, surely."

They were very surprised when I refused to accept the description of the campaigns in Greece and Crete as disasters. They were even more surprised when I suggested that the historians in a hundred years time might look on Greece and Crete as victories for the Allied Force. Obviously they were thinking I had gone crackers. I got a map and began to show them what I meant. Hitler marched into the Balkans. (When I say Hitler, of course he wasn't there. I use Hitler as a general term for the whole of the German war machine—just as we use the devil as a general term to include everything evil.) There was Hitler. He went into the Balkans. What for? Certainly not for what he could get out of the Balkans. He could get all that without fighting. No, very obviously, his objective was a swoop to the southeast for oil—the thing that lures him on.

Now, how was he to get to the Near East? One way was by Egypt. Well, that didn't look very promising. Another way was across Turkey. That didn't look very promising either. As some of us found to our cost in the last war, the Turks have a tough country and they are mighty tough fighters. But there was another possibility, and it all depended on rapid timing—conquering Greece quickly, then seizing Crete quickly, then Cyprus, then Syria; and if he could do all these things quickly, then the way would be open to the oil fields of Irak.

Then the timing went wrong in Irak. The balloon went up a bit too soon. If Raschid Ali had seized power in Irak a few weeks later the situation might have been very, very dangerous. He was just a bit too previous. The timing went wrong; while Hitler was attacking Greece, British reinforcements were on their way to Iraq, and while British and Imperial troops were gaining a very valuable fortnight in Greece, British reinforcements arrived in Irak; and while British troops were gaining another fortnight in Crete, the British Army was establishing control of Irak. So you see, control of Irak was established, not in Irak itself, but through the gallant resistance in Greece and Crete.

And now the New Zealanders were smiling again. They saw that they had done something. They had lost territory, but they had gained time, which was just as essential. They knew the value of Irak. They knew what oil meant in a war like this. Even if Hitler had broken through to the Near East, it is not likely that he would get much oil. I don't think he will get much if he ever arrives there. I take it there will be a couple of men and a box of matches somewhere handy to the oil wells.

But once the Germans or their puppets were in control in Irak, the way would be open to the occupation of Syria. It was a very dangerous moment and it was just in time that we got into Syria. The German move to the Near East was blocked—by the resistance in Greece and

Crete—six weeks altogether. Six weeks of time gained by those campaigns in the spring of last year.

You remember the next move—Hitler invaded Russia. He attacked Russia—and if it hadn't been for the campaigns in Greece and Crete he would have attacked Russia six weeks earlier. Naturally, by the end of the tremendous summer and fall campaigns the Russians were tremendously strained; then the winter came, when they were better prepared and were able to turn the tide; but not even the Russians themselves would be able to say what the conditions might have been had Hitler had another six weeks of summer on which to operate on Russian soil.

Those two disasters of Greece and Crete, it may turn out, were the real turning point of the whole war.

It is perfectly true, and I certainly would not want to deny this, that on the point of timing Hitler is a very great exponent of the art. We noticed that long before the war. He knew when to strike. He is either very, very competent or very, very lucky, which is just as good in war. All through this war, too, it seems, his timing has been almost uncanny. He knocked out one country after another, striking always, apparently, just at the right second. But not always—not always. His timing has been very good, but Hitler has not been always right. Cast your mind back to those dark days immediately after Dunkirk. You remember what happened. We suffered a colossal military defeat. France was broken in two. The British Army came back—yes, but disarmed. Now Hitler had to make a tremendous decision. We must face up to it: he had one of the biggest military victories in the history of warfare. He knew he could only win the war by knocking out Britain. On the other hand, there was France, broken, sagging at the knees, obviously poised for the knock-out blow. Hitler had to make his decision, and he decided to knock out France first. When Hitler made that decision he lost the war. If he had attacked Britain immediately after Dunkirk, he stood at least a fifty per cent chance of success. Most military experts say an eighty per cent chance. I don't believe he stands a ten per cent chance of success now.

Incidentally, I would like to say a word about France —one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the world. Sometimes I hear people sneering at France, and I don't like it. I was in France when the battle broke, attached to the French Army. Some people seem to think that France flung up her hands in despair. That is absolutely untrue. When the French had equipment, they fought like men. The French regular divisions, most of them, fought magnificently. I was attached to a French Reservist Division. They were elderly men, from the military point of view. That wouldn't have mattered; they had plenty of courage, but unfortunately the Division was actually equipped with the weapons of the last war. They had the same old horse artillery and the same weapons with which they had finished fighting in 1918. My Division had 24 anti-tank guns, but they were taken away a few days before the battle began and they had none. They had to stand up to an attack by about 400 German tanks. Do you wonder they broke? No, it was just sheer tragedy. The tragedy of a nation which had sat back in the fat years and got rather lazy and complacent and didn't have time to recover. That was the tragedy of it. It needn't have been a tragedy even then. Even after the first tremendous defeat, hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen were ready to fight on. The real tragedy was that in her hour of trial France couldn't fling up a leader. Even in those desperate moments, if France had found a Clemenceau or a Churchill, they would have been in the war today. Instead, the best man they could lay their hands on was a man like Laval; so they went out of the war. Though even now they fight on, and they will fight on, I am quite certain of that, until the end.

This question of timing, if I may come back to it, naturally enough is of tremendous importance in the consideration of our discussion of the Second Front. It is the subject on everybody's lips. When I left Britain about eight or ten weeks ago every one was talking about the Second Front. They are very, very anxious; they are very, very impatient. A year or so ago Britain had to stand and take it. Now, they are very, very anxious to give it instead. Yes, a Second Front. It is quite certain of course there will be a Second Front. Again we come to the question of timing. It has got to be at the right time. We must hit the opponent hard but at the right second. My own impression is it has got to be very, very strong. There is not a bit of good in a casual diversion. Anything that doesn't draw off considerable forces from Russia might be a useless sacrifice.

On the other hand, if we can establish that Second Front in the right place—and when it comes it may be in none of the places discussed at such great length—if we can establish the Second Front in the right place and at the right time it may not merely be a strong diversion, it may be decisive. When that time is I don't profess to know: and if I did, naturally I shouldn't be saying anything about it. Probably only half a dozen people in all the Allied Nations are in a position to judge when the Second Front should be launched. I don't pretend to be one of those. I do say that those people who imagine that the Second Front will be delayed a moment longer than is necessary—well, they have no idea of the pugnacious instincts of a man like Winston Churchill.

I said that timing was one of the keys of the whole conduct of the war, and I would add that the basis of timing is the question of mobility, the question of shipping—you can't discuss the Second Front at all unless you have shipping—shipping—shipping, continuously at the back of your mind.

You remember when we evacuated our army from Dunkirk; we lost a total of about 180 ships in doing that. Whenever we land an army on the continent we are going to lose a large number of ships. We can't help it, and at the moment you know what our shipping position is. At the moment it is very serious. We have got to do a terrific lot. We have to work like mad in a good many different fields.

One of the most optimistic weeks I have spent was when I was wandering up and down the west coast of Canada, seeing what the ship-building yards there were doing. Yes, shipping is part of the key to victory.

I remember on that day when Mr. Churchill mentioned in his speech, although there were only 300 tanks in Libya. On that day in a factory in Detroit there were 300 tanks in the yard, waiting for shipping, and if they had got to Libya and Egypt, they would have changed the battle in half an hour. We have got to find ways and means of getting them there. Mobility—certainly it is one of the keys to the war.

I remember being in Russia in 1937 and I went to some army manoeuvres. I may say I was very much impressed with what I saw. Fortunately, I published my impressions at the time and when the Russians came into the war and stood like men; I wasn't one of the people who were wise after the event. The biggest difference between the Russian Army and the German Army is that of mobility. They have nothing to fear in manpower. The Russians are very brave soldiers. In the last war we tended to overlook their amazing performance in lasting so long, literally without arms at all. Now, they have arms, and the campaign is largely a question of mobility. If Russia has a weakness it is that of communication and the motor power of Russia just can't compare with that of Germany. Only those of you who have been to Europe could have much idea of the European lack of transport. You may not know that the Poles had to fight the whole motorized armed forces of Germany with a total of motor vehicles that was less than the number of taxicabs in New York alone. There you had a mobile war being fought, and the Germans had every advantage. You remember how they took advantage of mobility of attack when the Russians used ground as a weapon, as they always did; when Russian resistance stiffened, they would switch their armoured columns 200 miles south, and push the front forward again. You remember how they moved forward in a series of bulges. Then when winter was coming on, the Russians understood the winter conditions better than the Germans did; now they became more mobile, and they turned and won a substantial victory. But once again the advantage is with the Germans; they are more mobile, and in spite of all the materials poured into Russia, the Russians lost such a lot when they lost the Ukraine. This is not only the most fertile region, but is was their principal manufacturing district.

I will say a word about the Russians a little later. I want to finish off with the question of a Second Front.

You know the Germans are coming to the conclusion that these colossal air attacks of ours are a second front in themselves; and certainly they have been strong enough to pull off a considerable portion of the German Air Force from Russia. They are fast becoming a Second Front. It is very, very significant that raids over Britain have begun again—not on a serious scale so far. I wonder whether they will. In fact—this is a strange thing to say, but I wouldn't mind if the Germans did attempt raids on a big scale. You have been reading in your papers this morning about the new defences in Britain. Probably you read that the German pilots just dropped their bombs and were anxious to get away . I don't blame them for having a bit of wind up. I would have a bit of wind up too. I am quite certain if the Germans come over in large numbers and under favourable conditions, they are going to get a shock that will be bigger than they expected. As it was they lost eight planes out of seventy in the raid on Birmingham. That proportion is fairly high, and there is more to come. What they are going to achieve by the raids I am not certain, except to bolster up the home morale. We know by the previous raids that they won't do anything vital.

That winter of 1940 was the most amazing period of my life. I saw as many of those raids as anybody in Britain, and I am going to say this to you: I never was ashamed of my own country, but when I saw the way in which men, women and children stood up to that terror, those of you who are British stock, you may take my word, you have nothing to be ashamed of. Hitler admitted to two major objectives in those raids. First, he wanted to break the morale of the British people and if he had broken the morale of the British people, he would have won the war long ago. But he failed. Why? I don't know whether I ought to tell you this, but I will.

When I came back from France I was sent to the Ministry of Information. They said, "Now, you know something about the question of morale. We are going to have heavy raids here soon. When a town is raided you are to rush there and restore the morale of the people." That seemed to be a job alright. I took it on. I waited, and sure enough a town was raided, and I rushed down to restore the morale of the people. But I went right back to London and resigned, because the morale of those people was considerably higher than mine.

I referred a few moments ago to our lack of drama. That was one of the things that saved us. If we had dramatized the situation it wouldn't have passed as it did. I remember one night after I was on the air, I came out of Broadcasting House in London. It was well after dark, and there was a policeman on duty outside. I said, "Is there a raid on?" Just at that second I heard the zzrr of a bomb, followed by a terrific crash on the other side of Portland Place. I dropped flat on the ground; so did the policeman, until all the bits and pieces had come down; and as I got up the policeman said, "Yes".

You remember hearing about the land mines that would come down by parachute and would flatten a couple of blocks. Well, I was up in Manchester during a heavy raid. Eventually I took shelter in the cellar of the police station. At the height of the raid, a man rang up. He said "There is a 'iciendiary' bomb in my backyard." They said, "You mean an incendiary bomb?" He said, "That would be it." "Oh, well," said the sergeant, "don't trouble us with things like that. Put the damn thing out. This is no souvenir business—we'll send round for it in the morning. They came around in the morning, and found the man lived in one of a row of small houses, and there in the little back garden, instead of an incendiary bomb, dangling from a tree was the biggest land mine they ever saw. They said to him, "You didn't sleep at home last night, did you?" He said, "No damned fear. I slept next door."

Mind, I am not pretending that everybody was quite as stolid as that; but, take my word, the people all over the country did stand up magnificently. Those stories are not exaggerated at all.

Hitler's second great objective was to smash down production centres so that we wouldn't be able to provide the materials of war. A lot of the factories were hit, but they would start clearing away the next morning and start building again.

A train journey in those times meant a zig-zag path across England. In spite of all that, in that winter when London had raids on thirty consecutive nights, when the main industrial centres of Britain were raided ninety nights out of a hundred, what happened? The war production of Britain went up more than thirty per cent. In fact, I often surprised my friends of the United States when touring there a few weeks ago. When you consider the vast industrial potentialities of the United States of America—potentialities we are very, very glad to have on our side—when you consider their genius for industrial organization, it is a surprising thing that U.S.A. with all its tremendous size, as compared with Britain, and the overwhelming potentialities, that it was only seven weeks ago that the war production of the United States passed that of Great Britain. Even now, the Lease-Lend material which we have received from the United States —and very, very welcome it has been—the Lease-Lend material that Britain has sent to Russia is considerably greater in volume than the Lease-Lend material which we have received from the United States of America. No, that objective also completely failed.

There is another important point, too. How goes the war of minds? We know a lot about the war of bodies, materials—what about the war of minds? I think we are winning that. I am quite certain we are winning that. In the early days of the war German propaganda was very, very dangerous. It was attacking countries, one by one. We know precisely where we are now. There are not many people left in the world who haven't a pretty good idea what Germans are and what they stand for. It is true the Germans even now have some propaganda successes. In some parts of the United States I was greeted with the old jibe that "Britain fights to the last American." But the people who put that haven't the faintest idea that they are reacting to German propaganda, and that the same German radio that tells America that Britain is willing to fight to the last American is also broadcasting to England that the United States is willing to fight to the last Englishman.

Well, it isn't just a question of *German* propaganda. *We* do something as well.

We have had a big success lately. You remember the night when a thousand British planes attacked Cologne. It was specifically announced that they were all British planes. That was done deliberately. You can imagine what has been done since. Day after day and night after night we have been saying to the Germans something like this: See these colossal raids. Go and have a look at Cologne. These are being carried out by a section of the British Air Force—*a section.* Goebbels swore we could never reach Germany at all. This is a section of the British Air Force that is spread all over the world—just one section of the *British* Air Force alone. The Americans haven't started yet. "You ain't seen nothin' yet."

You can just imagine the effect of a talk like that. Go to the dentist, and you have a tooth out. That is alright. You feel once it is out it is going to be alright. If, after that is out, the dentist tells you that twenty others have to come out, and each will hurt more than the original one, you won't feel so good about it. There is no doubt that our message is reaching all over Europe, to the people of the occupied countries and the people of Germany. All over Europe the occupied people are stirring. They can't do very much yet, but there is sabotage all over Europe. In France in a period of one month there were 122 railway accidents. The Germans admitted quite frankly that when a train entered Czechoslovakia nobody knew when it would come out, or if it would come out at all.

The V campaign is a very good psychological weapon. Here are the Germans in occupied countries. They hate being hated, and they see themselves surrounded with an overwhelming hate. So many of the peoples of Western Europe are so much more clever than the Germans in that sort of thing.

A friend of mine got a letter telling how a Danish fisherman shouted, "Herrings, herrings, as fat as Goering." The Germans put him in jail for two weeks. When he came out, he shouted, "Herrings, Herrings, as fat as they were two weeks ago."

I think it is in France that this psychological weapon is being used to its best. The French are so much cleverer than the Germans at this type of thing. A German officer walked down a street with a big V chalked on his back. The Morse V—you hear it every time the postman knocks, every time a motor horn blows. They tell me that one Frenchman has trained his dog to bark in three dots and a dash.

Can you imagine the cumulative effect of that kind of thing? The Germans see they are hated. One of the most effective pieces of propaganda to Poland—where they are having a terrible time—is when we broadcast like this: Look here, we know how you are suffering. We are fighting for your freedom, and it will come. In the meantime, make a careful note of the Germans who are treating you like brutes. Remember, after the war they shall meet their reward.

That has a double effect. It encourages the Poles. They know that we shouldn't say anything like that unless we were quite certain that we are going to win. And it discourages the Germans—who get to know about it. It has had some remarkable effects. I heard of a German official who was behaving well, and he was so anticipatory of a German defeat that he got all the local Poles to sign a testimonial that he was behaving decently to them, so that he could escape after the war.

Yes, there is a lot to happen. Some of it will happen very, very soon. I have got a tremendous kick out of some of the things I have seen in Canada. The Empire Air Training scheme—I knew it was big, but it is vaster than anything I ever imagined. I think I got the greatest surprise at the industrial effort of Canada. I knew that you were industrializing, but I had no idea you had gone so far. Of course "I ain't seen nothin' yet". I have still to go to the East.

Your production of food—when I was coming across the prairies I saw your bountiful harvest. I wonder what Hitler would give for that. There are going to be great difficulties in harvesting, and still greater in storing it. I know you will surmount the difficulties. That food is as important as weapons of war. Hundreds of millions of people in Europe are starving today, and they won't stop starving the moment the war is over. We have got to be ready for urgent action—for immediate relief and for some time to come. Years will probably elapse before Europe can be set on its feet again, and I can see Canada playing an honourable and foremost part in the post-war relief work that must be undertaken to set Europe on its feet.

You know, one of the things that affected me most was a little village in Manitoba. I went there to speak at the annual service at their war memorial. The population of the village was about 300, and I said to the Minister, "They must be all here." He said, "They are all here, except the men." I found in that village every man of military age had volunteered for service. They told me they could duplicate that village dozens of times over.

As you have probably heard, I am touring Canada on behalf of the British Ministry of Information, to see what Canada is doing for the war, and to go back and to tell Britain about it. Already I have found plenty of things to tell about what you are doing, and what you are going to do.

There is one thing I have suggested. If we have wounded German prisoners for repatriation, they should be taken on a conducted tour of the great factories of U.S.A. to see what is being made from them, and to the flying fields of Canada to see what is going to get there; and, finally, I would let them stay a few days with a London Cockney bombed-out family, to see what they have done and that the British spirit isn't dinted, much less broken. Then I am quite sure those people would go back to Germany so discouraged that the discouragement would spread like a virus throughout the country.

The situation of course is serious now. The Russians are fighting hard. They are right up against it. Stalin has issued his "Backs-to-the-Wall" Order. The situation isn't so very different from that in the last war when Haig issued a similar order. You remember what happened in 1918. The Germans are a strange people. Their morale was so high; then, suddenly, so low. You remember, in 1918, they won victory after victory. In fact, by all the rules of war in the spring of 1918 the Germans had won the war; but, unfortunately, nobody told us and we kept on fighting. Then, on August 8th, we turned and marched the other way, we fought the same men, wearing the same uniforms; but they weren't the same men. Their morale had fallen, to quote the army phrase, in your language and mine, "Their guts had gone."

I don't find any discouragement. I will say this, that the next three or four months are vital. What I will say is, if by November 1st the Russians are still fighting back hard as I am certain they will be; if by November 1st, the British are still holding Egypt, as I believe we shall be; and if by November 1st we have overcome the submarine menace, then the Germans will have lost the war. We still have to win it. There is a lot of hard fighting to come. But the Germans will have lost, and there will be some people in Germany who will know they have lost it; or, at least, that they cannot win it.

We may see strange things. We may see the military party throw Hitler overboard and try to fix a compromise peace. I know what Churchill is going to say when we are offered a compromise peace.

As you have heard, one or two of my books on war attracted some notice in Germany, where I was always received as a celebrity, instead of a notoriety. At a party one night in 1937 there were some German officers present. They were discussing the Puree Wars, and one of the staff officers made this remark: "Well, we lost the first World War. As you know, we shall very soon be fighting the second. We think we shall win the second. We are much better prepared. Even if we don't win the second, we shall win the third. After the second, the British and Americans and the rest will be so tired of war that they will sit back and relax and go soft, and we shan't."

We have got to remember that. We have got to win a military victory. A German collapse won't come until then. We have got to win a military victory; then a moral victory, not only in Germany, but in our own country. In the United States they tried to persuade me that isolationism is dead. It isn't dead, it is dormant. It isn't dead in Britain. I doubt if it is dead in Canada. There will arise people, people who will preach a selfish nationalism, which will appear to offer certain advantages. We have got to fight a battle for the soul of the world, because if they win, the sooner we prepare for World War Number 3 the better. I do believe *we* are going to win it. I believe that you and I, representing our countries, are going to march side by side as we are doing now; side by side as we are marching in this war to victory, to banish this menace from the face of the earth; and if we continue to march side by side, we can make it impossible for any menace like it ever to occur again. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Gentlemen, what a speech! What an informative speech and what a speaker! What a well-informed speaker!

Captain Newman, you have heard audibly expressed the appreciation of the audience. It remains for me simply to say thank you, Sir. Before I suggest that the meeting is at an end, I want to say that your career and what you have told us today brings very vividly to my mind a few lines from Tennyson's "Ulysses", in which he says:

> "I cannot rest from travel. . . .
> I am a part of all that I have met,
> Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
> Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
> For ever and for ever when I move.
> How dull it is to pause to make an end."

Gentlemen, the meeting is adjourned. (Applause.)

"THE RAILWAY AT WAR"

An Address By

ROBERT CHARLES VAUGHAN, ESQ.,
President, Canadian National Railways

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, October 1, 1942

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Before introducing the Guest-Speaker, I should like to extend a welcome to the large delegation from the Canadian Manufacturers Association and from the Toronto Board of Trade, and also to express a special welcome to Mr. J. J. Vaughan, who is the brother of our speaker. (Applause.)

Our guest today is an outstanding member of the industrial intelligentsia of Canada. He was born in Toronto and is a product of the Toronto public schools. He began his railway career shortly before the age of 15. His first job was running and his present job is running. His first job was running messages for the Canadian Pacific Railway; his present job is running the Canadian National Railways System.

After some four years with the C.P.R., he joined the G.T.R., and, shortly thereafter, the Canadian Northern, where, in 1904, he was appointed Secretary to the Vice-President and General Manager, and, in 1940, was advanced from Secretary to Assistant to the Vice-President and General Manager.

In 1918 he became Assistant to the President and, in 1920, Vice-President in charge of Purchases and Stores, a Department which became Canada's largest individual buyer, purchases averaging $100,000,000 a year. The size of the Department may be measured by the fact that it purchased one ton of coal out of every five produced in Canada. Right material, right price, right time, became the slogans of the Department. His jurisdiction included the operation of ocean and lake steamers and certain coal mines owned by the railway in Ohio.

When the Canadian Government decided to set up a Defence Purchasing Board in July, 1939, it requisitioned the services of our guest, who became Chairman of the Board on the understanding that he would organize the Department and then return to his position as Vice-President of the Railway. The organization was completed and the Government's Ministry of Supply was established.

On the retirement of Mr. S. J. Hungerford from the Presidency of the Railways and of Trans-Canada Air Lines, he succeeded him, becoming President of the Railways, the Steamship Lines, Central Vermont Railway, and the Grand Trunk Western, and a Director of Trans-Canada Air Lines.

He is President of the Canadian West Indies League; a member of the Technological Institute of Northwestern University; a member of the Executive Committee of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce; a Governor of the Montreal General Hospital; a member of the United Church; a married man and the father of two sons and two daughters.

It is of especial interest that, in addition to being President, our guest has just been appointed Chairman of the Board of Directors of Canadian National Railways, an appointment which is effective as at today.

Gentlemen, I have pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Robert Charles Vaughan. (Applause.)

MR. R. C. VAUGHAN: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen: These introductions are always very embarrassing, nevertheless, I am very grateful to your Chairman for his kind words. I appreciate very much the invitation extended to me by The Empire Club of Canada to speak to you today. As many of you know, I was born and educated in Toronto. I first left here for the West when I was eighteen years of age but subsequently returned to Toronto. My railroad work has taken me to all parts of Canada, and although it is many years since I last lived here, I shall never lose my affection for this city and its people.

I know personally of the magnificent contributions which your financial and industrial institutions have made to Canada's war effort. These have been fully in keeping with Toronto's importance as the chief industrial centre and capital city of the great Province of Ontario which, itself, has done so much to provide the sinews of war in our desperate struggle for the cause of world freedom and for our own survival as a free people.

The resources which the people of Ontario have placed at the disposal of the United Nations have been of inestimable value. Consider what your nickel and your copper have meant to the armies of the United Nations, and of the importance of the gold which you have mined to the stabilization of our national finances. Ontario has also been singularly blessed by nature in forest and agricultural wealth, and in that product of your own skill and vision, your industrial plants. Today, these plants are working at top speed and steadily expanding in capacity for production. Indeed, Ontario has won the reputation of being preeminently an industrial province and, with this in mind, I should like to say a few words at this point upon Canada's railways and their relation to the industries of your Province.

Ontario has in all 10,500 miles of steam railways. The Canadian National Railways operate more than 5,600 miles of this mileage, the Canadian Pacific 3,200, your Province-owned Temiskaming and Northern Ontario 600, and other steam roads approximately 1,000 miles. Thus, the Canadian National Railways operates 54 per cent of the steam railway mileage in the province, and our 25,000 employees provide perhaps Ontario's largest single payroll. The Canadian National Railways last year expended in your province more than $75,000,000 in wages, taxes and for supplies needed by the railway; a substantial sum of money to be put into circulation even in these days of vast war outlays.

Toronto, as you are aware, is the headquarters of our Central Region, the largest of the regions of the National System in point of traffic and number of employees. Major Bond, who is Vice-President and General Manager of this Central Region, with headquarters in Toronto, has under him 7,500 miles of railway. Mr. Bond's territory extends from Port Arthur in the West to Riviere-du-Loup, Quebec, in the East. Only a few railroads in the United States exceed the mileage of our Central Region.

I do not look upon the Canadian railways as exclusively a unit of transport, vital as this is, but as Canada's greatest war industry. This is a plain statement of fact. We need only examine their far-flung mileage and the dependence of the nation upon the service this mileage gives to appreciate this.

Canada's steam railways have a total mileage—exclusive of yards and sidings—of approximately 45,000 miles. These vast steel highways reach out to serve hamlet and city, populous centre and pioneer district of each of the nine provinces of the Dominion. It is over these networks of steel rail that the nation's wartime contribution of materials and men moves twenty-four hours of each day.

The extent of the demands made upon the railways—and which the railways are meeting—can be realized when it is known that last year the Canadian National System moved more than 65,000,000 tons of munitions of war and other products of industry and agriculture. This year the volume of traffic shows a further substantial increase, but our standard of operation is such that it is proving possible to handle this increased freight business with expedition and efficiency. Assuming that we are able to obtain the necessary materials required for operation and maintenance of our facilities, we face the future demands confident that we will give a good account of ourselves.

Without these steel highways that link province to province and seaports to land-locked centres of production, it would be impossible to move tanks and guns, foodstuffs and clothing in any useful volume and our war effort, no matter how willing the spirit, would be ineffective.

It is true that the railways depend in great part upon industry for their existence, but this dependence is an interlocking one; inversely, industry depends upon the railways for its continuance. The requirements of industry demand a "two-way'' service of the railways. We must supply the raw and basic materials to industrial plants as we remove the finished products. These supplies are wide and varied. They include the products of mines, forests, agriculture and the thousand and one other materials necessary to make those great, modern machines of war—and they come from all sections of Canada and the United States, and from overseas.

The railways have yet other obligations of service to industry. Where war plants are located at some distance from centres of population, such as Malton in relation to Toronto, we are called upon to operate chartered industrial trains to transport workers from their homes to the plants and back again. We have more than a hundred passenger coaches allocated to this type of industrial war service throughout Canada.

The railways of Canada have a job to do. In peacetime the task was a big one; in wartime our work is not only magnified, but the pace is accelerated. Canada's railways are also the arteries that supply the army camps and the vital British Commonwealth Air Training Depots, and we must be in the position to rush supplies, ranging from foodstuffs to aeroplane engines, to airfields and defence areas at any hour of the twenty-four.

Canada is fortunate today to have her splendid railway systems, so adequately equipped and strategically situated to meet the wartime demands of the nation. As

I said to a United States audience not long ago, many in the United States, as well as in Canada, do not realize that there are only three transcontinental lines on the North American Continent, and that they are all located in Canada—two being operated by the Canadian National Railways and one by the Canadian Pacific Railway. By the term "transcontinental", I mean a railroad operated from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast by one company and one management.

The Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway also are the two largest railroads, so far as mileage operated is concerned, on the continent. The Canadian National operates 23,600 miles of railway serving every province of this Dominion, and the Canadian Pacific operates 17,000 miles.

Moreover, Canada's railways operate many services which in the United States are provided by companies other than those of the railroads. These include hotel systems that reach from Charlottetown and Halifax to Vancouver and Victoria, express and telegraph systems, sleeping car services. They own and operate their own coal mines. They operate shipbuilding plants and fleets of vessels on the oceans and on the Great Lakes.

Apart from these varied activities, Canada's railways are actively engaged in war work. To speak directly of the Canadian National's contribution, this has extended from aid in the formation and operation of Government departments for war work, to acting as agent in acquiring property for training camps and air-fields; and from the assisting of industry in locating new sites for plants to the planning of towns to house war workers. The railway has supplied skilled men from every department; engineers, economists, purchasing agents, storekeepers, architects, publicists, doctors, etc.

In our own shipyards we have built large freight steamers and mine-sweepers. In our shops we have made guns and gun carriages and secret devices, and are continuing and extending this work.

The Canadian National Steamships likewise have played a vital part in the nation's war effort. Throughout these difficult and dangerous war years, our Canadian National Steamships have provided an important high-seas link for the movement of supplies to the fighting forces, unfortunately not without loss and casualties. Some of our vessels have been turned into armed cruisers.

The Canadian National Steamships also act as operator for the Dominion Government of Axis ships seized as prizes of war. These ships carry munitions and supplies to the United Nations' fighting fronts, no matter how remote nor how dangerous the waters. I should like to tell you of some of the gallant exploits of these ships and men, but for obvious reasons this must be denied me. As I speak to you today, ships carrying the Canadian National house flag are in such remote parts of the world as Bombay, Calcutta, South Africa and South America.

It is a further source of gratification that the Canadian National System is identified by ownership with Trans-Canada Air Lines, that new arm of transport which spans Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It provides fast daily air services between St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax and Vancouver, flying a main line route of nearly 5,000 miles linking together not only the principal cities of Canada, but linking Canada with the United States. Trans-Canada has proved an essential factor in the speeding up of our war effort—its air mail, air express and passenger service all being directed to serve the needs of the national at war.

Our Trans-Canada Air Lines have also undertaken, on a considerable scale, the repair and overhaul of military aircraft, including engines, propellers, and instruments, as well as Trans-Atlantic and other wartime activities, of which nothing further may be said at the present time.

Although one of the biggest of Canada's war industries and the largest employer of manpower in the country, the Canadian National System has more than 10,000 of its men in the armed forces and the merchant marine. Those with the Navy are sufficient to man nine destroyers;

our enlistments in the Army would form six infantry battalions; and the men with the Air Force would establish eleven air squadrons.

I could speak at length upon another of our most important war contributions—salvage. But I shall merely say that on the Canadian National Railways nothing is too large or too small to salvage or reclaim. Last year we salvaged and reclaimed materials essential to the nation's war effort valued at several million dollars.

Perhaps I will be pardoned if I refer for a moment to the kind of operation which has enabled the Canadian National System to meet adequately the enormous transportation demands of a nation at war. The railway never sleeps. Each twenty-four hours of every day tens of thousands of cars and hundreds of locomotives are in motion. To keep trains moving on speedy, dependable schedules, to provide industry with essential service, and to transport materials and men to the ports is an exacting and titanic task. It demands a highly skilled and specialized organization.

And this is the type of organization that characterizes the Canadian National. I am proud of the way our men have responded to the demands made upon them. There has been no drawing back, no shaking of heads. They have given cheerfully of their best.

Indeed, we of the railways look upon our men as soldiers on the "Home Front". For example, consider a section man—any section man—on our Northern Transcontinental line. He patrols his section of track in the burning heat of summer and in the freezing numbing cold of winter, when the mercury drops 40 degrees below the zero mark. In drenching rain or swirling blizzard, he is on his job and his job is an important one: to keep the track in condition so that trains may run in safety. He is but one of a hundred thousand Canadian National men doing their bit for a nation at war.

The far-flung lines of Canada's railways make it necessary that many men must work without direct supervision, and I am pleased to say that, if anything, this stimulates the men to greater efforts. They respect the bond of faith that exists between the supervisor and them; and although their work has increased many fold since the outbreak of war, their ideal of service never fades.

This ideal of service is not confined to the railway workers. It is a part of labour's attitude to the war and it will be a great factor in the winning of ultimate victory. Of course, by the laws of average, there are those in all walks of life who are unable to change their old habits of thought, who would stand by themselves, as it were, while the changing world moves on: but they are few. Such men forget that habits of thought can make or break a nation and that in a war for survival there is no place for the individual who will not cooperate and put his weight behind the common cause.

If we are to survive the crisis which we now face, it is imperative that there be a mutual co-operative effort between management and labour. Such a policy as this has been in effect on the Canadian National Railways for many years. As part of the machinery for carrying out that policy, we have what is known as the Union Management Cooperative Movement, and in our shops and roundhouses, and in our maintenance of way centres, the representatives of 40,000 organized men sit down with the management to discuss their problems and their work.

Forty-seven thousand suggestions have been brought up by the Mechanical Department and the Maintenance of Way Cooperative Committees since their inception, which represents over twelve suggestions per working day, and the majority of these suggestions have been accepted.

In cases where subjects were dropped the sponsor was informed the reason therefor. In this manner misconceptions were removed. The Committees are required to confine their recommendations to such subjects as apply to the advancement of the industry or to the welfare of the employees and to the betterment of the railway's service to the public. It is specified that no subject which would affect wage agreements is to be considered by the committees, nor do the committees deal with grievances which arise about working conditions established by agreements between the trade unions and the management, as other means are provided to take care of these.

At the present time there are 115 committees in operation, and on these committees there is equality of representation between the management and the labour representatives selected by the respective crafts. We can, from our experience, endorse the soundness of the Union Management Cooperative Movement plan, and it has also the warm commendation of those dealing with wartime labour and management problems in Washington and in Ottawa.

We must keep before us the fact that the wheels of industry are turning faster today than ever before in our history. This is shown by the volume of traffic that the railways are called upon to move. Traffic is now double what it was at the peak of the last Great War and 50 per cent higher than during those so-called "Golden Years of 1928-1929."

Each day we handle more than 100,000 cars through our Canadian National terminals, and frequently a single terminal receives and despatches as many as 5,500 cars in twenty-four hours.

One reason for the speedy handling of this great volume of traffice is our heavier motive power. The average train load has doubled since the war years of 1914-18, our big locomotives hauling in some cases over 100 cars at a speed increased by 60 per cent. At the same time coal consumption per ton of freight hauled has been greatly reduced, and this is an important saving when it is realized that our locomotives ran an aggregate of 81,000,000 miles last year, and that this year we will require over 7,000,000 tons of coal to move the estimated war traffic.

On the day that Canada declared war upon Nazi Germany the railways were prepared to make an immediate change-over to war operation. One problem, obviously, would be that of equipment unless steps could be taken to meet it. A survey was made of all equipment on the Canadian National Railways that could be reconditioned. It was found that 83 old locomotives were awaiting dismantlement. These were reconditioned for further light service, thereby releasing heavier power for more useful work. Hundreds of cars of various types were rebuilt, including box cars, work cars, gondolas, cabooses and passenger coaches, and over 150 steel Pullman coaches, standing on storage sidings in the United States, were economically purchased and brought to Canadian National shops to be converted into passenger coaches and other needed types of equipment. All these care are now in daily service.

In addition to this policy of rehabilitation, new equipment has been built, some specially designed by the Canadian National to meet wartime requirements. These include special hospital cars to serve as medical centres of trains carrying casualties; commissary kitchen cars for troop trains, where mess orderlies may obtain rations to serve men in coaches; "long-table" diners for troops, providing 25 per cent more seating capacity at the tables; cafe cars, coffee shops on wheels; and new types of coaches for industrial trains, with seating capacity of 122 instead of the usual 72 passengers. We have also created special type trains for the transportation of enemy prisoners of war.

Numerous other units of equipment have been put into service; a substantial number of heavy service locomotives likewise were added to our motive power. These locomotives are larger than our big 6100-type and of an equal, if not of an increased speed, and are capable of hauling 100 cars or more on our fast manifest schedules.

Throughout the system numerous adjustments in train operation have been made which have further augmented our motive power. For example, we now operate our big passenger motive power without change on direct runs between Halifax and Montreal, a distance of approximately 850 miles and between Montreal and Armstrong and Winnipeg and Jasper, on our transcontinental service, distances of 1,000 miles or more. By such methods of conserving locomotives we have further augmented our power for war purposes.

Betterments and improvements in operating facilities throughout the system have been general. Numerous passing tracks and yards have been extended and new terminals constructed. Many such improvements were made in the Atlantic Region, which serves the vital sea ports. There we installed the newest system of traffic control, new engine terminals, coaling plants and lighterage docks, and established a fleet of lighters.

I can assure you that the Canadian National Railways will leave nothing undone to take care of the increasing volume of war traffic.

The Honourable C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, issued on September 25th an appeal to Canadians to forego unnecessary travel for the duration of the war. Mr. Howe said:

"We are rapidly approaching the point where railway, airline and bus systems will be operating at peak capacity. Shortages of critical materials make it exceedingly difficult to replace existing transportation equipment, for which reason we must use our transportation systems to the best advantage.

"All pleasure and unnecessary travelling should be ruled out for duration if our transportation facilities are to be available for war purposes."

Mr. Howe made specific reference to conventions. The Minister's advice should be given careful consideration by all thinking Canadians. We have been able to handle the business offering up to the present time but the difficulties of securing additional equipment to carry the ever-increasing volume of traffic are mounting each day.

The vital part which the railways are playing in the present national crisis is not a new one. The history of their development is that of the development of Canada to nationhood. It was their iron rails that took the ideal of Confederation and made it a reality.

The first steam railway in Canada was opened in 1836 in the vicinity of Montreal. The steam road next moved to Upper Canada. It was here, in 1853, that Canada's second railway was opened. It ran from Toronto to Machell's Corners, now Aurora. It was to be followed within the space of weeks by the opening of a third road, located at London. At the same time, the Grand Trunk was preparing to lay its rails from Montreal to Toronto, Stratford and Sarnia, a road that was to be opened three years later and then extended on to Chicago. To men of vision a new era of expansion, of settlement was to hand, but there were those who raised their voice in utter disaster.

But there were men whose minds were not confined within narrow limits. Their vision looked into far spaces. One such man was the late Honourable Joseph Howe, that Grand Old Man of Nova Scotia, of the same stock as our Minister of Munitions and Supply, who is also Acting Minister of Transport. Back in 1851, ninety-one years ago, when there was but one small railway operating in all of Canada, he made a speech at Halifax: "I believe," he said, "that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days."

On July 1st, 1867, when Confederation was ushered in by Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Canadas, now known as the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, as a national project, from Halifax to Quebec, was one of the conditions of union. Thus the railway had become one of the basic structures of Confederation from the first. I may say here that the Intercolonial, together with those other pioneer roads that were welding the country into an economic unit, are all a part of the Canadian National System.

It was inevitable that the steam road would push its steel across the continent and link the Atlantic to the Pacific. Howe, in his Halifax speech, predicted this when he pointed out that his beloved Nova Scotia was but the eastern fringe of a great British North America of the future, and said, "We have a magnificent country between the Canadas and the Pacific Coast out of which five or six noble provinces may be formed, larger than any we have and presenting to the hand of industry and the eye of speculation every variety of soil, climate and resource."

In 1870, British Columbia entered the Federation, with the guarantee of the building of a railway from the East to the Pacific Coast. The construction of the Canadian Pacific cemented the structure of a Dominion that was continent-wide in breadth.

It will be observed that from the first the railways were expected to act as colonization lines. This inevitably created problems in operation and finance. Canada is a country of vast distances. As it was opened up to settlement, its frontiers receded to points more remote and of necessity steel was pushed ever northward. Settlers came after—and the traffic last of all. Both the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railways were essentially colonization roads, opening the northern sections of Ontario, Quebec, and the Prairie Provinces to settlement, and they could not survive the financial disruption of the first Great War.

The Canadian National Railways is made up of these two systems and their properties, together with the Grand Trunk Railway and the Government-owned Intercolonial and the Transcontinental Railway, and certain small lines that have been added from time to time. We had to assume the vast financial obligations.

Our fixed charges alone are approximately $50,000,000 a year, more than double those of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the relationship of fixed charges to gross earnings is higher on the Canadian National than on any railroad on this continent. The only way that we can pay these enormous fixed charges is to receive sufficient gross earnings to enable us to produce the necessary net earnings to meet them. We are now demonstrating what financial results can be secured when sufficient traffic is available. Last year our gross revenues amounted to $304,000,000, and our net revenue to $66,000,000—more than enough to pay all our fixed charges. This year the volume of traffic has shown a further increase and our gross revenues are now more than $1,000,000 per day.

We realize that these large traffic receipts are of a temporary kind and are brought about to a very considerable extend by the earnings derived from the movement of men and materials of war. I wonder, when the peace, which we all long for, comes, if the people of Canada will remember the services performed by the railways during the war, or will they forget those services and return their patronage to competitive forms of subsidized transportation, because if the user of a highway, whether land or water, does not bear his full share of the cost and operation of that highway, he is receiving the equivalent of subsidy. It has been proved time and again by experts in Canada, the United States and elsewhere that if all the factors of cost are taken into consideration the railway is still the best and cheapest method of transportation, except perhaps in the movement of some classes of material for very short distances.

I believe that the Canadian National Railways have fully justified their existence in peace and in war. The system's two transcontinental routes and other lines serving both industrial sections and outlying districts are of the utmost value to our prosecution of the war and our defence, a value which cannot be assessed at its true worth until the full story of our war effort can be told. Many of those lines which were characterized in the past as unnecessary and a useless expense to maintain are today vital to our war plans and to our post war development as a nation. The business of the nation could not possibly have been carried on without them.

More important than the prophetic words that Joseph Howe spoke ninety-two years ago, was the unspoken thought that lay behind them—that to men of vision change is not only inescapable but inevitable. The way that we meet this change will decide whether it be for good or for ill.

It is not a change of our own desire or making, but it is one that will affect not only our economic life but our very way of living. We must face the future with minds and hearts resolute to conquer and remake our world anew.

This is a task not reserved for the few; it is a task for each one of us. Modern warfare is primarily a struggle of peoples against peoples. No group is immune either to services or to danger. The worker stands in the front line with the fighting forces. In the Battle of Britain the civilian population took the hardest blows, and it was the workers, grim and resolute, who rearmed the nation and made their island an impregnable fortress that stood to defy the Nazi conquerors of Europe.

Sometimes we hear it said that we Canadians are not doing enough in the war. It is to our credit that we do not leave it to others to point out our shortcomings. We do that ourselves. We Canadians are an active people. If we had not been, we should never have built this great country in the few years we have been on the job. Even a century is a short time in the history of a nation. As a Dominion, stretching from coast to coast, we are only seventy-five years old. Since the first tiny locomotive Dorchester rumbled along the wooden rails, we have created a complete anatomy of communications—railways running from east to west, down into the United States and into the far reaches of the north; waterways, highways, and airways; telegraphs and telephones. When you think of these things it is well to remember the size of this country. Do not forget the forests we had to break through, the rivers we had to bridge, the mountains we had to climb over or bore through, the muskeg we had to trample down and make solid for our wheels. Building this country took hard work, courage, resourcefulness, faith and vision. Do you realize that we have reached our present position as a grain producing country in little more than thirty years? That forty and fifty years ago our Western plains were for the most part unbroken? When we went into the first year of the last war, in 1914, we had less than 10,000,000 acres in wheat. In the first year of this war we had nerly 28,000,000 acres. In a year now, we produce, in Western Canada, as much as 600,000,000 bushels of wheat, and in addition, 800,000,000 bushels of other grains. That tells you something of the character and industry of the Canadian people. And when I say, "Canadian people", I mean not only the native born—I mean also the great armies of immigrants from Europe who found a new life in this magnificent, free, new land. The same story can be repeated for all our other industries, the development of power and factories, of our mines, our fisheries, our forest products. The story is one of accomplishment out of all proportion to our numbers as a people and out of all proportion to the time we had to do it in. Canada is a big country and it had to be tackled in a big way. We Canadians did it.

We have always been workers and we are still workers. That is one reason why we sometimes feel dissatisfied with what we are doing in the war. Happily, the war has not reached our own shores in any large measure. But we went out to meet it. We lost no time. We were in at the drop of the hat, in 1939, as we were in it in 1914. Our airmen and our sailors have been covering themselves with glory from the beginning, and our army, since Dunkirk, has stood between the Western world and the Nazi horde. Our brave men have fallen at Hong Kong and at Dieppe.

We must have confidence in our ability to meet any demands made upon us. We are the people who built this country, the same hard-working, strong, adventurous, pioneering people. We have not gone soft. We are a modest people—men of action rather than words. But let us believe in ourselves. Let us remember our history, let us take pride in our form of life—not such a stubborn pride as would stultify us and hold us back from developing as we should—for we are not a nation bound rigidly by the rituals of the past—we are a people young in spirit, a pioneering people, who have to find new ways to overcome obstacles. Let us hold fast to the things we have learned by experience to cherish.

But let us realize that we are in danger of losing them. The war isn't won. We are confident it will be, but it isn't won, yet, by any means. Are we doing enough? Sometimes it does seem as if we are too far away to realize fully how serious it is. Perhaps we are not "all out" yet. But I do not for a moment think we Canadians will let ourselves down, that we will be untrue to our characters as a people of courage, vision and hard work.

The least that we can do is to give unstintingly of our effort and of our dollars. We must stand one hundred per cent this month behind the Third Victory Loan. Its success is essential to our safety and our survival as a free people.

As one proud to be identified with one of Canada's greatest industries, I know from personal observation and experience that this challenge, and all the other challenges of the struggle, will be met, and in the fullest possible measure. Labour and management will work as a unit for victory. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: The Reverend Dr. Cody will thank Mr. Vaughan for this address.

REV. H. J. CODY, D.D.: Mr. President, it is a very great privilege to voice the feelings that are moving you at this moment. We thank Mr. Vaughan, first of all, because he had a good word to say for Toronto. In many parts of the Dominion if the word *Toronto,* or *Ontario,* is mentioned there is a lifting of the eyebrow and a somewhat vague insinuation that we are a people of narrow vision, highly self-centered, without any measure of tolerance or interest in Canada as a whole. That is not true. This is no mean city, and if you judge by deeds, rather than by words, Mr. Vaughan is justified to the full in saying a good word for this city of his birth.

Secondly, we thank you for giving us so vivid a picture of what railways have meant in the building up, the opening up, and the unification of this Dominion. At times we have said we have over-built, that we have overbuilt in some of the outlying parts of the Dominion. If we had not built, where should we be today? In this country, with its vast distances, severed by the great Pre-Cambrian shield that comes down, separating the East from the West, we are inevitably compelled to take risks in railway building. We have taken those risks. It was necessary to take them and because we took them, we have a political unit of the Dominion of Canada.

We thank him further, because he has given us again so marvellous and picturesque an account of what the greatest industry in Canada, the railways, are doing for the war. I am sure we have scarcely realized that, until he has given us in detail and in combination the contributions the railways are making to Canada.

And he has looked ahead and he has challenged us to remember that there are still great problems lying ahead in the days of reconstruction. I am sure that we can all be comforted that when the time comes perhaps for reopening our railway problem, we can feel very safe that a man like Mr. Vaughan is in charge of one of these great systems, the Canadian National Railway. He knows every step of the way, from the bottom of the ladder to the top. He will do what is just and wise,—but that is a problem that will lie before us.

Then came his splendid challenge to us all for which we again thank him. Are we doing our utmost? I am so glad he sounded out that note: We haven't yet won the war. So far, by the great mercy of God, we have escaped being beaten, and we trust we shall win the war, but that Victory will depend on us.

I was very interested in seeing a sort of slogan, and watch word that was being used by many in the old Motherland: "It all depends on me", and I think there should be the very necessary addition, "And I depend on God".

But let us not forget that the issue depends on us, on what each one of us contributes to public opinion, to public service, by way of fighting, by way of paying, by way of helping to formulate wise policies. If we don't go on as a unit we will go under.

No one can read for a moment in these days any first hand reports of what is happening to the conquered nations of Europe without trying to visualize what might happen to us if the Nazis conquered. I don't suppose in the history of the world there has ever been a greater combination of faithlessness and ruthlessness and sub-beastliness than has marked this war. You remember that prayer, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do", but when people know what they do and do it deliberately and in cold blood, as part of their policy, it is called on every one to do more than his best that not only shall our national life survive, but the great Empire of which we are an integral part shall survive, but that a human and decent civilization will survive.

So we thank Mr. Vaughan for giving us these vivid pictures and closing with this magnificent challenge, and please God we shall stand and stir ourselves to go to the limit that Freedom and Justice and Mercy and Decency shall be the common possession of all the peoples of the world. We thank Mr. Vaughan. (Applause.)

"LABOUR, INDUSTRY AND THE WAR"

AN ADDRESS BY

WILLIAM GREEN

President, American Federation of Labor

Chairman:

The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Tuesday, October 6, 1942

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I think it would be appropriate, before we ask Mr. Green to address us, that I should introduce at least two or three head table guests. We have Mr. Percy Bengough, of Vancouver, who is Acting President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada—(Applause) —Mr. John W. Buckley, Secretary of the Trades Council of Toronto—(Applause)—and Mr. North Winship, the United States Consul. (Applause.) We regret that the Hon. Humphrey Mitchell and the Hon. Frances L. Perkins are not with us. They were unable to accept our invitation this afternoon.

Our regular day for meeting is Thursday and it is only to entertain an outstanding guest that we make any change. Today is one of those occasions, for today we are privileged to entertain and take counsel from the very head and front of the American Federation of Labor, the Chief Executive Officer of some five and a half million Trade Unionists in the United States and Canada.

Since people "rise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things", a glance at some of those stepping stones in the career of our guest would indicate his rise. He was born in Ohio and is a family man, the father of six children. He started his career in the field of diplomatic labour in 1900, as Sub-District Chairman of the United Mine Workers of America. He served two terms as a Member of the Senate of Ohio and became International Secretary of the United Mine workers of America in 1912. He became a Member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in 1913, and, on the death of the late Samuel Gompers, President of that body in 1924.

He has not neglected the domestic political field but has been three times a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. He is also a member of the Advisory Council of the Committee on International Security. He is a Member of the Academy of Political and Social Science and the author of Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law.

For his efforts in the promotion of industrial peace, he was, in 1930, awarded the Gold Medal of Honor by the Roosevelt Memorial Association. (Applause.)

May I briefly complete the frame for the picture by saying that at first he approved of the strictest neutrality for the United States of America, that in 1940, he advanced to the position of all aid short of war, and that his position now, as he expressed it yesterday, is "Men on the production lines will win the war in that front line of battle". (Applause.)

His economic aversions are Communism and Socialism. He is a peacemaker, a moderate, a diplomat.

Gentlemen, I present to you our guest, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM GREEN: Mr. Chairman, Honoured Guests and my Fellow Associates here at this delightful luncheon, and Members of The Empire Club of Canada: I am visiting with you today for the purpose of discussing with you how industry and labour can best work together to help win the war. This is our joint and primary objective. All other considerations have now become of secondary importance. We recognize our responsibilities. We must accept them and fulfill them without hesitation and without reservation.

The problems that we face in the United States and that you confront in the Dominion of Canada are so similar that I need not differentiate in this discussion. We are both democracies. We are both in the same boat. In order to stay afloat we must win this war and achieve a decisive and complete victory over the forces of dictatorship. (Applause.) Otherwise our democratic institutions, our code of freedom, our way of life will be sunk without a trace.

This is true not only of our systems of Government but of our present industrial life. Free enterprise can exist and prosper only under the opportunities afforded by a democratic Government. Likewise, free labour can remain free only in a democracy. We need only examine conditions in Nazi-controlled nations today to realize all too clearly the fate that awaits private industry and free labour if we lose this war.

If we analyze the problem a bit further as a result of this war, labour is bound to suffer. On the other hand, if labour is enslaved or placed under rigid government control, free enterprise cannot escape similar bondage.

So it is obvious that for industry and labour in the United States and the Dominion of Canada this is truly a war of self-preservation, a war of survival. We are in a life or death struggle. All we are and hope to be depends on victory.

If we are intelligent enough to realize this, we must then consider how we can most effectively mobilize our power and resources to win the war. We know it will be a long and bitter struggle. All of us are conscious of that fact. We know that half-hearted measures will not be enough—that an all-out effort is desperately required. Our enemies are daring and vicious. They planned and prepared for this war while we were still unaware of the danger. They struck first and gained the initial advantage. We will have to work hard and fight hard to halt their advances and reverse the tide of battle.

We must also remember that Hitler and his Allies need not ask their people to make sacrifices. They simply order and they take what they want by force. They are not delayed and retarded by hesitant Parliaments, by rival political groups or by open opposition of any kind within their own territory. By terror, torture and slaughter, they have forced complete obedience to their dictates.

There are some in our own countries who envy Hitler in this respect and would like to emulate him. Theirs is a dangerous and short-sighted attitude. They judge only by surface indications. If they would investigate more closely and reason more logically, they would discover the basic flaws in force and compulsion. These words are anathema to free men. Slave industry and slave labour, giving mere lip-service to hated rulers, cannot produce with the energy and spirit of free industry and free labour.

Now, it is up to us in North America to prove that—to prove it to our own satisfaction and to Hitler's discomfiture. That is the way we can justify humanity's faith in democracy. That is the way in which we can guarantee our own survival.

Our job—the job of industry and labour, and that is inseparable—is to out-produce the Axis, to furnish our armed forces wherever they may be with an unlimited supply of the most effective weapons of war. We must provide the planes and the tanks and the ships and the guns and the ammunition without which victory cannot be achieved. (Applause.)

Our production facilities far surpass those of our enemies. Our productive genius—the vision of our industrial leaders and the skill of our workmen—cannot be matched or equalled anywhere in the world. Our resources and materials, except in a few instances, are boundless.

With these natural and physical advantages and with the psychological superiority of free men over slaves, all that we need to assure victory in the war production drive is the right method of harnessing our strength and our resources for the successful completion of the big job ahead.

I used the word "harness'' because it implies team-work—and team-work is the prime requirement of efficient, uninterrupted and full production. This is a total war; for that reason we must have total full production. There is a crying need today for better team-work between management and labour and better team-work between both and the Government.

Why can't we get that kind of team-work? That is the question I want to place squarely before you today in the hope that a frank and open exchange of views between management and labour may make for better understanding and promote greater co-operation.

In the first place I want to assure you with all the emphasis at my command that labour, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, is not seeking any special advantage or profit out of this war. On the contrary, we are anxious to make every sacrifice necessary for victory, short of surrendering our basic freedoms. Even in this respect, we have made a vital and sweeping concession. Immediately after Pearl Harbour, the American Federation of Labor adopted a strict no-strike policy. We voluntarily and sincerely relinquished the exercise of our right to strike for the duration of the war.

How has that pledge been kept? Almost—not quite —100 per cent. There have been a number of strikes in the United States since the war—local strikes and of brief duration. I presume you have gone through a similar experience in the Dominion of Canada. We are dealing with human nature and we must take into account human nature. It isn't perfect. It has not yet reached the stage of perfection. Men are moved by emotions and by feelings and not by judgment and when they are moved by these human characteristics they very frequently do the thing they should not do. The American Federation of Labour has not condoned, supported or encouraged a single one of them. On the contrary, we condemn without reservation every work stoppage by members of our organization for whatever cause. We urge and appeal to all our local unions to submit their grievances that cannot be adjusted in the normal processes of collective bargaining to Government agencies purposely established to settle them. These agencies in the United States are first, the Federal Conciliation Service and, finally, the National War Labor Board. Our unions and their members, in the overwhelming majority of cases—yes, in more than 95 per cent of the cases—have followed this procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes without interruption of production.

There have been a few exceptions to this rule. In every case, I and my associated leaders in the American Federation of Labor have been the first to exert pressure upon those who have violated our strict no-strike policy to return to work immediately. We have invariably succeeded in obtaining prompt compliance, even in cases where the strikes were provoked by deliberately hostile acts of employers.

You know, there are a few employers in America who have sought to take advantage of labour's no-strike policy. They are not perfect either. They haven't reached the stage of perfection. They are still influenced by those human frailties and they many times follow feeling rather than judgment. Relying on our pledge not to exercise our economic strength under any circumstances, they sometimes refuse to bargain in good faith for a new agreement or by overt acts in violation of existing contracts and the national laws arouse such resentment among their employees that a strike occasionally develops. Intelligent and patriotic leaders of industry should be the first to condemn such transgressions against the national welfare by any of their associates just as the leaders of labour have condemned unions that fail to abide by our no-strike policy. Management owes an equal responsibility with labour to maintain peaceful industrial relations and an uninterrupted production. If management fails to live up to its responsibility and tries to take selfish advantage of the war emergency, the confidence and morale of workers is bound to be impaired and our entire war production effort is bound to suffer.

On the whole, however, the attitude of both labour and management since the war started has been splendidly cooperative. That is why we have been able to achieve such amazing increases in war production in a few short months. I urge you not to listen to those prophets of doom who constantly criticize and find fault. They are so blinded by minor and petty troubles in a particular plant or industry, that they fail to see the production picture as a whole. We have made glorious progress. President Roosevelt who has just completed a nationwide tour of inspection of our war industries, attests to this fact. I assure you his report is not overly optimistic. Factories and shipyards all over America are roaring full blast—and the sound must strike terror to Hitler's heart. We are producing in America as we have never produced before. Industry and labour both are working with a will. New methods and new processes are being constantly introduced cutting down production time. Workers have stepped up their pace to such an extent that in most plants two are now producing what it took three men to do before.

Let me give you a concrete example of the breathtaking achievements that are hastening Hitler's doom. And that is just as sure as that the sun will set tonight. It used to take 250 days to build and fit out a 10,000 ton cargo ship before the war. (These figures are assembled from records.) Now, in some of our shipyards these vessels are being launched only ten days after the keel is laid and they are fully ready to load cargo and sail to the aid of our fighting forces only fourteen days after they are launched. The majestic battleship *Iowa* just launched a short time ago in one of our well-equipped naval yards in the United States, went down the waves seven months ahead of schedule. This means that merchant ship construction has been speeded up one thousand per cent. Destroyers, cruisers and battleships also are being built in huge numbers far ahead of schedule. In most instances six month to a year have been cut from the time formerly required to construct them.

This situation is true not only of ships, but of tank and war-plane production. The output of tanks in American plants now outstrips the combined output of our enemies. Just think of that—all achieved since Pearl Harbour. Mass production methods are being applied for the first time to airplane production and soon they will be rolling off the assemply lines and winging their way to the battlefronts in an unending stream.

Because of these developments, we will soon be able to match the force of our enemies with equal and even with superior force. When that time comes I predict that Hitler and his enslaved followers will crack under the punishment that we will be able to mete out to them.

Let management and labour now unite in a whole-souled effort to hasten that day! It can be done. Regardless of what has gone before, regardless of what some of us have been erroneously taught to believe, management and labour are not natural economic enemies. I have no patience with those who preach that kind of a doctrine in a democracy. It is contradictory. There is no reason, no good reason under the sun, why that doctrine should be preached. So, as the spokesman for 6,000,000 workers on the American Continent, I disavow it and disown it. (Applause.) We have, if not an identity of interest, at least a community of interest. We both want to win this war—in fact, we've got to do it in self-preservation. If private enterprise and the right to own and manage property is to continue on the North American Continent you must win this war. If labour is to be free and if it is to be accorded the right to form its own free, democratic unions and to administer the affairs of free democratic unions, then we have got to win this war. We have got an equal interest in it. We both realize that we must keep freedom and democracy alive in order to survive ourselves. We must also now realize that management and labour are completely dependent upon each other and cannot exist without each other.

In order to convince you that labour is really on the side of management, I should like to tell you something of the structure of the American Federation of Labor and its principles and policies. The American Federation of Labor is a union of trade unions. Its object is to promote the economic, social and political welfare of working men and women and to elevate their standard of living through organization, collective bargaining, legislation and education. The American Federation of Labor flatly and unreservedly stands opposed to dictatorship of any sort—dictatorship by the proletariat or by some chosen few—it makes no difference. It condemns and opposes revolution or revolutionary methods. It does believe in evolution. It preaches and it practices peaceful, democratic methods to achieve a better way of life.

The American Federation of Labor regards private ownership, private enterprise and private initiative as fixtures within the democratic structure of our Governments. If they are ever endangered, I repeat again, as a result of this war, we will be among the first to fight to preserve them.

We recognibe these rights as fundamental in the organic law of our land and as inherent within democratic processes—that workers may organize into free democratic unions for the purpose of collective bargaining and that owners of property may operate and manage industry. We believe that industry is entitled to a fair profit and, likewise, that workers are entitled to fair and decent wages. As a matter of fact, we are just as anxious as industrial management that industry should prosper and expand because we know that is the way more work opportunities are created, better wages paid and tolerable, human working conditions made possible for labour.

Much of the suspicion and misunderstanding which is the basic cause of many strikes could be removed if employer and employee representatives were frank and open with each other. This should be supplemented by an increased recognition of each other's rights. It is important that this should be done even in normal times. It is imperative that it be done in our present war emergency when so much depends upon efficient teamwork between management and labour.

Again, I should like to cite an example to show how frank exchange of information serves to remove misunderstandings. Suppose a local union representing employees in a certain plant hears rumours that the management is reaping huge profits. Naturally, the workers and the union representatives would feel that the workers were entitled to share in the fruit of their labour by being awarded pay increases. In such a situation, if management refuses to grant wage adjustments it should at the same time fully explain its position. Have open, frank discussion—"This is what I can do and this is what I cannot do." It is the closing of doors, the secrecy, the mysterious attitude of one toward the other that creates suspicion and suspicion is the source of strife. What we need between management and labour, between the owners of property and the masses of the people is open, square dealing with each other, frankness of the most frank kind. Labour is intelligent. If you present to them the facts they will recognize those facts. They will accept them. They cannot ignore them and they will not ignore them, but it is when they don't know, when the facts are kept from them and when through the public press or through statements made outside and around and about they are led to believe that huge salaries are being paid to corporation executives and huge profits are being distributed among stockholders, then is when they become dissatisfied and when that is never cleared up and when the facts are not brought home, then that state of mind becomes fixed. If there is any one thing I would urge should be done, and that urging is based upon my life's experience, it is that we develop frank dealing, open dealing, open-mindedness between management and labour upon all questions that affect human relations in industry. If a firm is not making huge profits, if its production costs, taxes, expansion programmes and competitive position are such that wage increases cannot be safely granted, it is up to management to show and prove these facts to the satsifaction of the employee representatives. Charges of exploitation could thus be answered in a factual way and bitterness and conflict avoided.

The procedure that I have outlined is reasonable, fair, democratic and practical. It does not involve any surrender by industry to labour of its management prerogatives. The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, I may say, are not interested in encroaching upon or taking over the functions of management.

Some large employers in America used to worry themselves sick for fear of having to deal with unions. I know that many of you here, within the sound of my voice, can remember when the unions were regarded as revolutionary, destructive forces. They were classified in a classification outside of the regular order. They were referred to in terms that I could not express here in your presence today. The unions have had to fight every inch of the way. That was the time when some did not quite understand the value of organization among workers, the service they could render to democracy, to industry, to society, and to the nation. Well, when the National Labor Act, with which many of you are familiar, perhaps all of you, was passed by the Congress of the United States, a new era was ushered in. That Act confers upon workers in the United States the right to organize, free from any interference on the part of the employers, and many of the employers have learned most valuable lessons since that Act was passed in the United States. They have learned many things. That conferred upon labour the right to organize, free from intimidation or interference on the part of anyone. Now, some of the employers regarded the organization of their employees into trade unions with great trepidation and even, in some instances, sought to block such organization in defiance of the law.

Their fears were groundless, as they have discovered since they began negotiating with trade unions. Many of the leading anti-union employers of the past are now the greatest supporters of employer-employee cooperation in America.

Since the war we have sought to expand the field of such cooperation by the formation of management-labour committees in war production plants. This programme, inaugurated under the auspices of the War Production Board, has not yet been applied as widely as it should be and will be, but already highly constructive results have been reported by both management and labour alike. Management has discovered that workers can contribute from their experience on the job important and practical suggestions for improved operation and production methods. Workers have discovered that their employers are human beings like themselves and not arrogant ogres. We are confident that there will be continuing progress along these lines and that it will redound to the benefit of management and labour alike now and after the war is over.

The benefits of labour management co-operation were not a new discovery by the American Federation of Labor. We have preached it for many years and have made enthusiastic converts on our own account. The Garment Workers Union has developed its cooperative machinery to such an extent that it occasionally has been able to help an employer financially and save his business when without such help it would have gone on the rocks. The railroad industry—profiting from the Baltimore and Ohio plan of union-management cooperation—made great forward strides in the efficiency of operations and in maintenance long before the war began. And that experiment was tried most successfully on the Canadian National Railways, as many of you must know, just a few years ago and it was a great success. One of our unions in the printing trades—*The Printing Pressmen*—has cooperated with the newspaper industry to such an extent that it has blazed the trail for most of the new printing processes that have helped the newspapers keep pace with modern times.

I think you may be interested in another phase of labour-management cooperation that is now beginning to take shape in the United States as a result of the war. A few weeks ago the national representatives of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers sat down together around a dinner table with the national representatives of the American Federation and Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Now, some of you could have believed that the National Chamber of Commerce would have done that but I imagine there are very few of you who believed that the time would ever come when the representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers would do that very thing, but they did. This meeting was arranged entirely on the initiative of the organizations of business and labour represented. The Government had nothing to do with it and was not represented at the meeting.

One of the basic purposes of the meeting, in fact, was to explore ways and means by which management and labour could reach areas of agreement on fundamental and basic problems and arrive at a basis for joint action for the solution of these problems with a minimum of Government intervention.

It was understood that our first objective, of course, was to mobilize the combined strength of our respective organizations to help win the war. As part of this understanding, it was agreed by all parties that it would be advantageous to the cause of democracy for management and labour to deal with their joint problems so constructively and efficaciously as to make Government intervention unnecessary. Let us do the job. The feeling was unanimous at the meeting that too much Government interference in the sphere of industrial relations was undesirable and indicative of a trend toward the very aspects of totalitarianism that we are fighting against at this time.

We reasoned this way—that management and labour had a job to perform and that failure to do it would be the signal for the Government to step in and take over in the interests of the war effort.

So we reached the broad conclusion that we would earnestly endeavour to chart a programme of joint effort which would promote war production and speed the day of victory. We reported this conclusion to President Roosevelt at a conference a few days later held in the White House and he gave us the broadest possible encouragement to go ahead with our plans.

As yet it is too early to predict how much can be accomplished and in what direction we can act first. A second conference of the national representatives of these four organizations was held only a few days before I left Washington to come here and more meetings will follow from time to time. I have no hesitation in saying, however, that I look for highly constructive results from these conferences. In fact, they have already resulted in the establishment of good will and a better understanding among organizations that before the war were aligned against each other on many important issues.

Management and labour, standing together and working together under our free institutions, have much to give to our countries. The success of the war effort depends very largely upon their service. If we fail to meet the challenge, we don't deserve any better fate than that which would await us at Hitler's merciless hands. If we succeed in our efforts, the world will always remember and freely acknowledge that we have earned our freedom and are entitled to continue to enjoy it in the future. Faced with these alternatives, is there any doubt in your mind how management and labour will respond? I have no doubts. As the representative of six million American and Canadian workers, I hereby give you my solemn pledge that labour will meet management more than half way during the war. We are ready to work with you and serve with management, and sacrifice with management, my friends, come what may, for Democracy's eventual and inevitable victory. (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: It was most interesting, Gentlemen, to hear Mr. Green's reference to the Canadian National Railways, where this management plan has been so ably developed over a period of the last few years. Those of us who listened to Mr. Vaughan speaking from this table only last Thursday will recall his remarks in that connection. I feel that many who have listened today to Mr. Green will envy him his field of endeavour and the opportunities and interests which it offers, to say nothing of the geniality of his person and the warmth of his eloquence. (Applause.)

Capital, so-called, is of the earth, earthy; labour, so-called, is humanity, the souls and the bodies and the minds of men and women. One who has the privilege of dealing with human souls, of raising the standards of living for human bodies, of easing the burden of life for human minds, is peculiarly blessed. That is Mr. Green's unique privilege for some six millions of our fellow men.

Mr. Green, on behalf of The Empire Club, I thank you for this enlightening address. You carry away with you our best wishes for the accomplishment and achievement you desire in your great work. (Applause.)

"THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN CHINA"

An Address By

THE HONOURABLE DR. LIU SHIH SHUN,

Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

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Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Rapid transit and the radio have done more in the last twenty years than has been done in two centuries before to bring the ends of the earth together in knowledge, appreciation, and understanding. Most of us, as children, only a few years ago knew China as a far distant country to which Christian missionaries were sent. All of us now know China as one of the great powers of the world, one of the United Nations in a struggle against aggression, a nation which bore the terrific onslaught of a barbarous enemy five years before our own nation had entered the struggle. But how few of us know anything of the moral philosophy of that great country, or of its religious leaders, one of whom, Confucius, about 550 B.C., when asked as to the source of true goodness replied, "Do not use your eyes, your ears, your power of speech, or your faculty of movement, without obeying the inner law of self-control."

Our guest today is a gentleman from China. After graduating from college in Peiping, he went to the United States where he obtained his B.A. degree from Johns Hopkins, his M.A. from Harvard, and his Ph.D. from Columbia. Then he returned to Peiping, where he became a member of the staff of his Alma Mater. His abilities in the field of economics and politics were immediately recognized and his services were requisitioned by the Government in 1927. For some years he was able to continue his teaching along with his Government service, and from 1928 to 1936 he was a professor at the National Central University, but latterly he has devoted all his time to government service.

The people in Canada are honoured by the presence among us of this gentleman, and The Empire Club of Canada is privileged to have as its guest today the Hon. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China, whose subject will be, "The Fight for Democracy in China." Dr. Liu Shih Shun. (Applause.)

HON. DR. LIU SHIH SHUN: Mr. Chairman, Your Worship, Distinguished Guests, Members of The Empire Club of Canada: I feel greatly honoured today in being given the opportunity of meeting and addressing this very distinguished gathering. The kind words which the Chairman has said about myself and my country have touched me very deeply. I thank you for your kindness and friendship thus shown to me.

On October 10th, that is, in two days, the Chinese people will commemorate the thirty-first anniversary of the founding of their Republic. It was on that day thirty-one years ago that the Chinese Revolution broke out and resulted in the successful overthrow of the Manchu monarchical regime.

The aim of the Revolution was twofold: First, to create a modern democracy in China and, secondly, to regain her liberty and equality in the family of nations. No sooner, however, had our Revolutionary Fathers succeeded in bringing about the republican form of government than they were confronted with pernicious forces of various kinds, which have been incessantly at work to prevent the aim of the Revolution from being fully attained. One of the most nefarious and persistent of these forces has been Japanese aggression. For this reason, our battle for democracy at home is at yet unconcluded and unwon, and our struggle against Japanese aggression has virtually become part and parcel of the Revolutionary War which broke out thirty-one years ago. For the same reason, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, made it clear in his statement of December 16, 1937, that "the present struggle of resistance is an indispensable transition in the National Revolution", and that "in order to seek external independence and internal existence, emancipate the entire people, and consummate the reconstruction of a new country, China cannot avoid this difficult struggle."

That the Chinese Revolution would in time be thwarted by Japanese aggression was foreseen by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, our late leader. In his book on *The International Development of China,* written twenty-one years ago, Dr. Sun declared: "The Japanese militarists still think that war is the most profitable national pursuit, and their General Staff keeps on planning a war once in a decade." But, Dr. Sun went on, "since China is awake now, the next aggression from Japan will surely be met by a resolute resistance from the Chinese people." To the end of his life Dr. Sun remained fully convinced, and continued to remind his followers, that the Revolution had not yet achieved success and that they should still work hard.

As Dr. Sun had foretold it, subsequent events moved rapidly until the relations between China and Japan reached their crisis in 1937, which was some twelve years after Dr. Sun's death. Throughout the period of approximately three decades between the birth of the Chinese Republic and the present stage of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, the Chinese people have been engaged in a struggle, on the one hand, to bring about democracy within their own confines and, on the other, to free themselves as well as the democratic world from the clutches of a hideous aggressor. In unravelling the two phases of this important episode of human endeavour, we shall find not only that they are intimately correlated but that they have not infrequently made simultaneous progress.

"What basis, if any," you may ask, "is there for the inclinations of the Chinese toward the democratic way of life? What prospect is there for China to win her fight for democracy."

In answering the first question, I can do no better than refer to the balanced judgment expressed by Dr. Hu Shih, our former Ambassador at Washington. In a learned lecture delivered sometime ago at a university in the United States, on the subject of "Historical Foundations for a Democratic China", Dr. Hu Shih attributes the development of Chinese democracy to three historical factors.

The first of these factors consists in the abolition by the statesmen of the second century B.C. of the law of primogeniture and their adoption of the system of equal division of the property left by a deceased father to his sons. This system had the effect of bringing about the total absence of large land holdings and the creation of a social structure in which there are practically no class distinctions nor even any enduring differences between the rich and the poor.

The second factor, according to Dr. Hu Shih, is the adoption of the examination system, which is traceable to as early a period as the custom of equal division of estates of inheritance. From the beginning of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century, for a period of 1300 years, the main system for the selecting of men for government service was by competitive examination open to all, irrespective of creed, family connections or financial standing. Throughout the centuries there has grown up a deep-rooted tradition that officials are not born of any special class but should be selected through some form of open and competitive examination.

The third factor to which Dr. Hu Shih draws attention is the censorial institution. This institution dates back to very ancient times, and China's long history abounds in instances of statesmen who openly and courageously condemned and opposed what they regarded as ruinous policies of government. Not a few of these outspoken advisers were either put to death or subjected to bodily torture. But they left behind them the tradition of exalting the tolerance of frank censure as the highest virtue of the ruler. In fact, the censorial system was in a sense an embodiment of the freedom of speech and may be regarded as the early Chinese counterpart of the modern parliament.

Summing up, Dr. Hu Shih said: "These three historical factors—a democratized and classless social structure, a traditional belief in the selection of office holders through an objective competitive examination, and a long history of encouragement of outspoken censorial control of the government—these are the heritages of my people from the political development throughout the long centuries. They are the historical factors which alone can explain the Chinese Revolution, the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of a republican form of government, and the constitutional development of the last thirty years and of the years to come."

There is no doubt that these social and political institutions have grown out of a long and fruitful background of philosophical ideas. Before the Republican era, China underwent ten centuries of feudalism and two milleniums of monarchism. It is noteworthy that even during the feudal and monarchial ages, Chinese philosophers taught the doctrines of political and economic democracy and the ideal of universal brotherhood.

The first and foremost of these teachers was Confucius, who said: 'When the great way prevails, the world is a common state. Officials are selected according to their wisdom and ability, and mutual confidence and peace reign. . . . The old are able to enjoy their old age; the young are able to employ their talent; juniors are free to grow up; helpless widows, lonely orphans and the crippled and deformed are provided for. Men have occupations and women have homes. Although not to be thrown away, wealth is not to be kept as personal property. While not to be idle, labour is not to be used for personal advantage. Under such a scheme of society, selfish plans cease to exist and banditry and rebellion cannot rise. As a result, there is no need to shut one's outer gate at night. This is the age of the great commonwealth."

Following Confucius was a long train of sages and philosophers who kept on enlarging on the democratic idea of the State and of society. Among them was Mencius, who is well known as the most outspoken advocate of the right of the common people to rebel against tyrannical government. Closely associated with this theory is the important doctrine that the subordinate has the sacred duty of criticizing and opposing the wrong-doing of his superior. This idea was responsible not only for the development of the censorial institution but also for the worthy example set by hundreds of historic personages in voicing their determined and fearless opposition to the misdeeds of despotic rulers and their high-handed ministers.

From this cursory review it may have been seen that Chinese history is saturated with the spirit of democracy both in philosophical ideas and in institutional life. In spite of this, however, the form of government in China remained monarchial for centuries, until Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his followers initiated their attempt, which was the very first of its kind on the entire Asiatic continent, to overthrow despotism and bring about democracy. The attempt was crowned with instant success, resulting in the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912.

The basis of China's political freedom was laid down by Dr. Sun Yat Sen in his *Three Principles of the People.* Of these three principles, that of Democracy forms the cornerstone of the political system now in operation in China. In his analysis of political democracy, Dr. Sun makes the important distinction between "sovereignty" and "ability", which is a unique contribution to political science. Dr. Sun holds that sovereignty, that is, the control of public policy, should be vested in the people, while public administration should be left in the hands of those who are able efficiently to perform their duties. "The government of a republic," says Dr. Sun, "must be built upon the rights of the people, but the administration of public affairs must be entrusted to experts."

According to Dr. Sun, the rights of the people are four in number, namely, election, recall, initiative and referendum. On the other hand, the government exercises five administrative powers: the legislative, executive, judicial, examination and control powers. All public functionaries are to be chosen by competitive examination and none of them are to remain in office if they are found to be unfit by the control or supervisory authorities. All the five departments of government are independent of one another and a system of checks and balances is thus maintained. In the opinion of Dr. Sun, this scheme of government has the advantage of combining the merits of the old Chinese imperial policy and those of the constitutions of western countries.

As I stated at the beginning of my address, no sooner was the Chinese Republic born than it suffered a number of setbacks which prevented it from reaching its maturity. The very first President of the Republic, Yuan Shih-kai, who succeeded to Dr. Sun's provisional regime, set to work, shortly after his assumption of office, to undo what the Revolutionists had striven to accomplish. He sought to realize his vicious plan first by making his Parliament a mere sham, then by the outright dissolution of the legislature, and finally by placing himself on the throne as Emperor of China. The farce of Yuan Shih-kai was short-lived, and it ended in his ignominious defeat and death.

The next man to foment trouble in the political arena in Peiping (then Peking) was Chang Hsun, an avowed militarist. His deep-seated belief in the monarchical form of government prompted him to revive the throne and bring back to it the deposed Manchu Emperor, known as Henry Puyi, who happens to be the present puppet ruler of the so-called "Manchukuo". This hastily staged drama did not last more than twelve days, at the end of which it turned into a total fiasco.

Thereafter the country fell a prey successively to partisan intrigues and factional strife at the Capital and to the oppressive rule of warlords in the Provinces. Soon the situation deteriorated so hopelessly that Republican China, which had been the fond hope of the Revolutionists, became the scene of one internecine war after another. For years, tumult and turmoil reigned supreme, until in 1926 the Nationalist Army, led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, commenced its spectacular march northward from Canton and within two years succeeded in freeing the country from the misrule of the warlords and in bringing about complete unification.

Realizing the lack of political training on the part of his compatriots, Dr. Sun Yat Sen had laid down a programme for the gradual adoption of constitutionalism. According to this program, which is embodied in the Outline of Reconstruction, drawn up by Dr. Sun, there should be three periods, the period of military operations, the period of political tutelage and the period of constitutionalism. The period of military operations was concluded in 1928 when the Nationalist Army entered the gates of Peiping soon after the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking. The second period began in 1929, but shortly before it was scheduled to come to an end, was interrupted by the Marco Polo Bridge incident precipitated by Japan.

It must be remembered that this was by no means the first time that militarist and aggressive Japan had baulked at China's attempt to establish constitutional government. Deplorable as was the state of internal disorder in China during the first half of her Republican era, it was nevertheless not the worst enemy of her struggle to effect real democracy. For it was the Japanese who were primarily responsible for much of the political chaos that existed in China long before they embarked upon their ambitious programme of invasion and conquest.

Convinced that the subjugation of China would be the first step toward world domination and that a weak and disunited China would tend to further her malicious design, Japan left no stone unturned to stir up dissension and civil strife. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, she did her level best to play off one faction against another, so as to reap from the resultant feud whatever benefit she could.

Thus Japan's hand was seen in Yuan Shih-kai's abortive attempt to revive the monarchy. Prior to his ascension to the throne, the Japanese Government had availed itself of the war then raging in Europe to bring up the notorious Twenty-one Demands, the acceptance of which was said by some to be the price paid by Yuan Shih-kai for Japan's support of his monarchical scheme.

The part played by Japan in Chang Haun's Restoration is well known. The mere fact that asylum was accorded by the Japanese Legation in Peiping to Chang's followers after his defeat is ample evidence.

In nearly all the subsequent civil wars in China, Japan had an important share. Her loans and her military supplies, not infrequently to both parties to the dispute, contributed to the recurrence of the suicidal fratricides.

In 1928 Japan despatched an armed force to Tsinan, in Shantung Province, to block the northward advance of the victorious Nationalist Army along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. It was during this infamous incident that Japan went so far as to murder in cold blood one of the high Chinese diplomats and his entourage in Tsinan. Although these brutal acts did not stop the Nationalist Army from reaching Peiping by another route, Japan did what she could to dissuade the warlord in Manchuria, General Chang Tso-ling, from accepting the Nationalist regime. This again ended in failure; but, for his stubbornness, the General had to pay with his own life, which was lost in a train explosion artfully arranged by the Japanese.

On September 18th, 1931, the Japanese invaded Manchuria. Thereafter, despite almost daily provocations, the Chinese Government resorted to every possible means to keep the peace. Genralissimo Chiang Kai-shek exercised such inimitable forbearance that, even on the eve of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, which took place on July 7, 1937, he declared, "While there is the slightest hope for peace we will not abandon it; so long as we have not reached the limit of endurance we will not talk lightly of sacrifice." But, bent on her programme of conquest, Japan deliberately precipitated the fateful Incident. At that ominous moment, the die was cast and the Rubicon had to be crossed. As the Generalissimo said in the same declaration from which I have just quoted, "When the last stage is unavoidably reached, we have no choice but to sacrifice and fight to the bitter end. Once war has begun there will be no compromise."

In this war of resistance in which we are engaged, therefore, we are trying not merely to rid ourselves of a ruthless invader and an implacable enemy of world freedom, but also to remove the most serious obstable to the fulfilment of the aim of our Revolution. From the very beginning the Japanese have conspired to keep China in the condition of utter powerlessness and of a house divided against itself, so as to smash the hopes for a united and democratic China. This wicked plan has now culminated in the most ghastly assault on China and on the free world. In this sense, the Chinese war of resistance is but a continuation of the Revolutionary War, and on its successful outcome depends the deliverence of China from Japanese domination as well as the consummation of Chinese democracy.

The dual nature of our momentous struggle is substantiated by the fact that, at the same time that we are carrying on our resistance to Japanese aggression, we are taking important steps toward the creation of constitutional government. On May 5th, 1936, the Chinese Government made public the Draft Constitution; and had it not been for the Japanese invasion of China and the outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1937, the People's Convention would have met in November that year and the Chinese people would now be blessed with a Constitution. In spite of the war that intervened, the Chinese

Government has in the last few years adopted a number of additional measures looking toward the introduction of full-fledged constitutionalism, such as, notably, the establishment of the People's Political Council, which is a semi-legislative and semi-advisory body, the initiation of the new county system, and the decision to call the People's Convention at the conclusion of war to ratify the Constitution.

The role played by China in the present global war is clear to all, and the contributions made by her to the common cause of the United Nations are universally recognized. We still recall that, at the outbreak of the conflict, Japan proved to her own satisfaction that she could beat China to her knees in no time. Today, Japan's self-deceiving boast has long fallen to the ground. Not only are China's knees still unbent, but she has fully demonstrated her ability to continue to stand on her feet for an indefinite period of time to come.

But, being poorly equipped, the Chinese have from the very outset had to fight a grossly unequal war against a cruel, treacherous and ruthless foe. As a result, a vast portion of their territory has been occupied; millions of people, both civilian and military, have lost their lives; tens of millions of men, women and children have been rendered homeless and destitute; cities, towns and villages have been bombed and shattered; institutions of learning and works of art have been pillaged and destroyed; churches and hospitals have been wrecked; industrial plants and factories have been razed to the ground. In a word, havoc and devastation at their very worst have been and still are the lot of the whole of China.

And yet, surprising as it may seem, the Chinese people are forging ahead and enduring their trials and tribulations with indescribable fortitude and calm. The experience they have gained from many years of relentless strife has convinced them that their final victory is inevitable. Especially since the entry of Canada, the United States, Great Britain and all our other allies into the war, the faith of the Chinese in the ultimate vindication of their cause has been immeasurably strengthened. So, here is the answer to the second question which I posed at the beginning, "There is every prospect for China to win her fight for democracy".

But the longer the war lasts, the more difficult becomes the task confronting China and the greater her need for allied assistance. It is no secret that, in spite of her power of resistance, the lack of adequate equipment has prevented her from launching a large-scale counter-offensive against the enemy. There can be no doubt that, given the required aid, she will be able to drive out the invader and restore law and justice in her part of the world. The dramatic successes recently scored by China and made possible in part by the assistance from the United States planes and air force prove that the price is well worth paying.

The Chinese believe that our war, like the peace to follow, is indivisible. To them the European front and the Far Eastern front are of equal importance. The neglect of one would be detrimental to our success on the other. Moreover, with Japan's occupation of the regions in the southwestern Pacific, China has become the most convenient base for the United Nations' counter-attack on the Island Empire. Hence, the vital importance of rushing aid to China.

In this connection, I hope that I can be forgiven if I quote from a recent article written by an American university professor who, after recounting the tremendous losses in human life suffered by China, said, "When we stop to thing about it, we all recognize that China is the largest nation engaged in this war, that she has been in it the longest, that she has suffered by far the most. The trouble is that we do not often think about it; and yet, this most significant and undebatable fact must never be forgotten—to date, this has been China's war more than anyone else's."

While it is true that the Chinese have suffered in this war more than any of the peoples of the United Nations, we believe that the total effort of all of us in defence of the common cause is increasing with the march of time. And there is every reason that it should. For we are all engaged in a stupendous struggle between freedom and slavery, between democracy and tyranny, between good and evil, and between light and darkness. Were we not to emerge victorious from this struggle, the progress of world civilization would receive a fatal blow, the sufferings of mankind would know no bounds, and the untold sacrifices endured in the fight for democracy the world over and at all times would have been in vain. Let there be no illusions, therefore, about the collective responsibility of the United Nations, and let them, one and all, discharge their sacred obligations with renewed fervour, vigour and determination.

In closing, let me read to you a striking passage from the unforgettable speech by the preacher in the famous novel and cinema, *Mrs. Miniver*:

"Why, in all conscience, should these be the ones to suffer? Children, old people, a young girl at the height of her loveliness?—are these our fighters? Why should they be sacrificed? . . . Because this is not only a war of soldiers in uniform. It is a war of the people—of all the people—and it must be fought not only on the battlefield, but in the cities and in the villages, in the factories and on the farms, in the home and in the heart of every man, woman and child who loves freedom. . . . This is the People's War! It is our war! We are the fighters! Fight it then! Fight it with all that is in us! And may God defend the right!"

Thank you. (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen, it is the custom of this Club that the Chairman shall thank the speaker. Custom makes cowards of us all. I am going to depart from that custom today and ask Bishop White to thank the Speaker. Bishop White has known China really longer than the speaker has. Bishop White arrived in China in 1897. The speaker arrived in China in 1900. I am told that the only difference between their arrivals was that the Bishop arrived with a shilling in his pocket and the speaker didn't even have a pocket.

Bishop White, will you please do the honour of thanking the speaker.

Bishop White: Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is a great honour to express our thanks to the speaker for this very scholarly and informative and interesting address that we have heard today because these are days when we are beginning to be greatly interested in China. I say "beginning to be" because we have not been formerly. We are grateful to Mr. Liu Shih Shun for coming and speaking as he has today and I am sure our hearts are stirred and we want to do what we can in meeting that need over there.

Dr. Liu I may say, is truly characteristic of the young China today, and when he was speaking I thought back 45 years, to those early days, where we had to live where I was placed just as the Chinese did. We had to wear Chinese clothes. My head was tonsored just as the Chinese tonsored theirs. I had to grow a queue but I had to have a false one braided in at first. Otherwise, I couldn't have lived there. We would have been mobbed because they didn't know anything about Western clothes, they hadn't seen them in the interior of China where I was.

Here is one thing that stands out today. Thinking back to the early days, we wondered year after year whether China would ever awake. We felt she wasn't conscious of the rest of the world, she didn't know about it, and we thought the old China with all its glory had departed. Then, you know, the nations began to lop off a piece here and there. Dr. Liu knows more than most people about the whole question of extraterritoriality. He has written a great book on that. Still that has gone. As I think of it to-day, China has awakened, and Dr. Liu has stood before us to-day and given in faultless English this great presentation. We feel he speaks for China to-day and he typifies in himself this New China.

I came this morning from a class that I had at the University the first year Honour Class in one of the Departments. They are taking up Chinese studies with me and this was the second lecture I had given them. The eyes of those young people simply bulged—they didn't want to break up that class. They didn't know anything about the culture of China, what lay behind it, and we are trying to give them that. I think we all ought to be grateful to the University for setting up a Department of Chinese Studies because now it is for us to awaken. China has awakened from her side and she now is coming forward and taking her part but we don't know much about China. Here is our neighbour across the Pacific, and we are going to walk hand in hand as we are now in this fight against aggression, and after that, the Reconstruction. Those are the two great objectives in China today. Opposition, resistance to the aggressor that is coming in upon the Fatherland of China, and at the same time, they are building up. They are not neglecting education and the training of the youth of China to meet these problems that they will have to face, and so they are going about it in the right place.

And so we here have the same problem—resistance to the aggressor, but let us when we think of our reconstruction problems, think of that other wider reconstruction problem across the Pacific and working forward, going forward, hand in hand with this sister nation in this body of the United Nations, let us press forward to make a better world.

So, Mr. President, I am grateful for this privilege and I do with all my heart express on your behalf to Dr. Liu our thanks for coming today and giving us this great word of his. (Applause.)

"DUNKIRK TO DIEPPE AND BEYOND"

An Address By

MAJOR ELIOT WARBURTON, M.C. and Bar

Chairman:

The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, October 15, 1942

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: We are happy to welcome today an emissary from the office of the British High Commissioner at Ottawa, who is going to address us on the subject "Dunkirk to Dieppe and Beyond."

Our guest is a soldier with a distinguished career, a student of world politics and a writer, a business man and a diplomat.

The outbreak of the war in 1914 found him (then a cadet at Woolwich) in Germany. He escaped to England, was posted to the Royal Horse Artillery, served in Gallipoli, France, and Italy, and was decorated with the Military Cross and a Bar.

In the post war years from 1919 to 1921 he spent much time in Germany, working on disarmament problems and political intelligence, and from 1921 to 1925 he was on the the general staff at the War Office in the Department dealing with Germany and Central Europe.

In 1925 his old wounds interrupted his military service and he retired into business. For the next fourteen years he directed the European affairs of an international chemical company. This gave him the opportunity of spending much time in the United States and in various European countries, and the incentive to write on international politics and strategy.

In August, 1939, he was recalled to the War Office, and a year later, after the fall of France, he applied to rejoin the Artillery, where he served for eighteen months until his old wounds invalided him out of the active army.

He is now on the staff of the British High Commissioner in Canada. His function is to see that Canada is kept informed of affairs in the United Kingdom and conversely that the United Kingdom is kept informed of affairs in Canada.

This background of study and service will prove an invaluable asset in dealing with the problems of an Intelligence Department, a Department of Information. Another invaluable asset is personality.

Gentlemen, I present Major Eliot Warburton, M.C. and Bar, who wants me to inform you that he has demilitarized himself and is now plain Mr. Warburton!

MAJOR ELIOT WARBURTON, M.C: Mr. President, Distinguished Guests and members of The Empire Club of Toronto: I appreciate very deeply the honour you have done me in asking me to address you today, and also, Sir, your very kind introduction. I only hope that, when, at the end of these proceedings, you rise to pronounce sentence, your justice will be tempered by extreme mercy!

There are very many reasons for which I am particularly happy to have been sent to Canada. The only complaint I have had about it so far is that your country is so large that it is difficult to see enough of it: it almost needs a bicycle to get about.

The benefactions of Canadians to Great Britain have been very deeply appreciated, and Canadians have been very deeply appreciated, and Canadians have been so kind and so generous, from Yukon and British Columbia to the Maritimes. Just to mention two items—the Canadian Red Cross, when I left England, had sent ten and a half million dollars in goods and one and threequarter million dollars in cash. The Toronto Newsaper Funds have sent great help to air raid victims.

Of course the strongest links have been forged by your fighting forces in the United Kingdom; 1½% of your population is there. When your First Division arrived I was at the War Office and had a certain amount to do at that time with General MacNaughton, and with that cheerful and well-named Torontonian, his P.R.O., Major Abel. Then I took some Turkish M.P.'s and editors to Aldershot when your First Division was concentrated there. I was with them at Plymouth when the First Canadian Division so nearly went to France in the last phase there. I was commandant of the Larkhill camp to which came all the Artillery of the First and Second Canadian Divisions. Then, when I was commanding a battery in our Fouth Division, I took part in manoeuvres in which your men showed themselves keen soldiers. For two years they have been around my home in England and, on my visits to my deserted house, I have been able to note the continual improvement in their physique and bearing. They are very popular. Finally, just before I left England, I paid a special visit to some of your training units under General Price Montague's command. They were splendidly run and doing great work. I remember particularly Brigadier Nash, also another Torontonian, Lieut. Rae, who was in charge of a P.T. course. I have met a lot of your gallant airmen and some of your sailors who are playing an effective part in the vital battles for the mastery of the air and the seas.

Of course it was no surprise to me to find they were such a fine lot of men, because I knew their fathers at Vimy Ridge twenty-five years ago where I was Artillery Liaison Officer with your 28th Infantry.

I was afraid at one time that many of this 1½% of Canada's population now in the United Kingdom for two years, might bring back a poor impression of Britain's war-effort. The country districts where they have spent these two years have been stripped of every able-bodied man and woman that could possibly be spared for the fighting services or for war industries. In our zeal to hide these war industries from the enemy, we have made them hard for our friends to see. On leave, many of your men gravitate towards the Piccadilly neighbourhood, where, despite the black-out, rationing and high prices, a certain spirituous gaiety is still achieved, but this is more likely to lower the bank account than to raise the view of the earnestness of our war-effort. However, I found that your men who have been in Britain for some time have seen through our odd behaviour, accustomed themselves to our peculiar ways, found out what lies behind our stolid faces, green hedge-rows and blacked-out houses. I am not now afraid of the impressions they will bring home or leave behind. Before I left, I initiated a plan for taking officers and men while on leave behind the veil, to see many phases of our war-effort. That plan was blessed by Mr. Attlee, who is the Secretary of the Dominions and the Deputy Prime Minister, and, with the co-operation of the Ministry of Information and other Ministries, seems to be working very well.

The reason why I attach so much importance to the impression brought back from the United Kingdom by Canadians in the fighting forces and others, is that Hitler and Goebbels would like you to think that we in the United Kingdom are not playing our part, are not pulling our weight in this war. Yes, that would be something to laugh at had the trick not worked so well elsewhere and did one not find some people on this continent ready to believe it.

Press, radio and films, the chief channels of information about current events, have a great and difficult responsibility in war-time. The natural inclination of journalists is to write about the doings of the home folks. There is an old saying in editorial offices, "The dead dog on High Street is of more interest than 100,000 Chinese drowned in the Yellow River." It is indeed the duty of the Press, radio and films to stimulate patriotic enthusiasm by reporting the heroic and steadfast efforts of the people of their own land. But the danger is that they may do this so well that their people may conclude that they are carrying the whole burden, may doubt if others are doing their fair share. Many of you will remember that happened during the last war. I remember in 1921 I was in Northern Italy, and on every hand I heard expressions of hate toward the French. I enquired from one of them one day why the Italians had so much hatred for the French, and his reply was, "It is because the French will not admit that the Italians won the war."

I venture to hope that this will be kept in mind by the Wartime Information Board now being formed under your able Mr. Charles Vining. Great skill is needed to achieve a nice balance in public opinion. It is very easy to misinterpret other people's actions. A story is told of an incident during an early air raid—when the alarm sounded there was a lady of rather ripe charms walking along the street, and she heard the people shouting, "Take cover, take cover!" She saw a garbage can on the side; she got the lid off, squatted down inside, and pulled the lid on. After a short time, two Chinamen came walking along and, as they passed this garbage can, they saw the lid wobble. One of them took it off and saw the lady; he said to the other Chinaman: "You know these Occidentals really are very wasteful, you know I would not have discarded a woman like that for another twelve years." (Amusement.) Really we are very careful about our salvage! I have no fear that Canadians will misinterpret United Kingdom views or actions as seriously as that. But there are whispering campaigns even here that are doing Goebbels' work of sowing dissension—some are prompted by the Nazi short-wave propaganda.

Gentlemen, it is of course healthy, right and proper that Canada and the United Kingdom should form their respective opinions in their respective ways and independently. But it is vital to the future, not only of this great Commonwealth in which we are the two leading partners, but to the future of civilization, that we should understand each other, know the aims each cherishes, the difficulties to be surmounted and the contributions made to the common cause.

It is with these points in mind that I have chosen the title of my talk to you today "From Dunkirk to Dieppe and Beyond". Not that I want to tell again our sad, but gallant, Dunkirk story or to dwell on the proud but poignant facts of Dieppe. I have selected these as milestones to that "Beyond" that we all long for and are straining towards. For you must know that no Russian soldier grappling with the Huns in Stalingrad, no armchair critic anywhere, is nearly as anxious to see us attack Hitler's main armies in Europe as are our and your fine troops after two years of training in Britain. Last year, I often had to soothe the impatience of the gunners in my battery, whose homes were being blasted from the skies, as have one-fifth of the houses of Britain, by an enemy that they could not yet hit back. This impatience is shared by our munition workers who are working long hours, without strikes, and with few holidays, in the black-out, under hostile bombing, to build up supplies. And bombing, by the day, works two ways. It is a stimulus to production, as well as a punishment. This is a long job because all democracies, not only the United Kingdom, refused to prepare for war while the Axis powers were doing it. With nearly 50,000 killed and over 50,000 wounded, these men and women in the United Kingdom have kept at it to pile up the weapons of war, to launch new ships and repair damaged ships. The war production of the United Kingdom today is by far the greatest in the world in proportion to the population, though the United States passed our total rate of production this past summer.

To the invasion of Europe, two things are vital, mastery of the air and mastery of the sea. Our airmen and yours, those brave Poles and Czechs, French, Dutch, Norwegians and Belgians who fight so gallantly over their oppressed countries and now the American squadrons, are fighting to weaken Germany's war industry, to cripple the Luftwaffe. The navies of the United Nations and the merchant marine are seeking day and night to make the seas safe for our shipping and to carry vital war-supplies. On any day there are 2,000 United Kingdom merchant ships at sea, and 16,000 of our merchant sailors have perished already. Guarding these ships, and some 400 more British vessels are over 600 United Kingdom warships of all sizes, as well as the patrolling planes and your and other United Nations' navies. We have sunk or captured over six million tons of German and Italian merchant shipping, sunk 80 battleships, cruisers and destroyers, as well as a large number of U boats and auxiliaries, 90% of all these by United Kingdom forces.

Gentlemen, reflect for a moment on these two years of painful uphill climb. My first landmark, Dunkirk, and the collapse of France, left the land forces in Britain reduced to three or four properly equipped divisions (of which one was the first Canadian) with but one armoured division, and that not completely equipped. For all our efforts, it seemed incredible that the R.A.F., after one year's war expansion, but heavy losses in France, could ward off the Luftwaffe. .

The miraculous way in which they did it is known to you all. We have recently celebrated the second anniversary of the 15th September, 1940, on which 185 Nazi planes crashed to earth in Britain, a bag probably equalled at Dieppe. The R.A.F. have now downed over 10,000 enemy planes.

The Royal Navy not only held the seas, but they have hunted down surface raiders and submarines; put our raiding commandos ashore at a score of places in Europe and the Mediterranean; with the R.A.F., destroyed half the Italian fleet, and helped to stem the invading floods over half the world.

In Egypt and Palestine, General Wavell had scarce 40,000 men. To the north of him was a big French army in Syria, the trusted allies of yesterday, the potential foes of that day. To his west, an army of 250,000—Mussolini's, the jackal scurrying in to enjoy the victor's spoils, as he thought. To the south in East Africa, Mussolini had another army of 300,000. Wavell, Egypt, the Sudan and Suez—yes and Iraq and Persia, looked like easy meat to him. But Churchill did not hesitate to send one of our few precious divisions to reinforce Wavell and, with this small force, with never more than 30,000 men in the fighting line, General Wavell put that quarter million Libyan army in the bag; added the 300,000 from East Africa, freeing Eritrea, Abyssinia, British and Italian Somalilands, an area twice the size of Germany. He helped to quell an Axis-directed revolt in Iraq, he cleared the Vichy forces out of Syria, he sent politically necessary, but militarily hopeless, aid to the gallant Greeks. These campaigns are too soon forgotten; they have few parallels in history. I hope that the story of the "Abyssinian Campaigns" may soon be published in Canada.

Since General Wavell was moved to the East to try to stem with quite inadequate forces, the long-prepared Japanese onslaught on our sixth front in the Far East, his successors in Egypt have fought ding-dong battles with German-Italian forces that they have not yet been strong enough to destroy. Meanwhile, gallant Malta has stood 3,000 air-raids and is still hitting back. At Gibraltar and Cyprus we hold firm, too. South of the Caucasus, we are preparing to guard the oil fields of Persia and Iraq, if the Nazis break through that Russian front.

And, since Russia was first attacked, we have freely poured out aid to her, more than fulfilling the engagements made. You and we have supplied the U. S. A. with much since December 7th last,—guns and shells, barrage balloons, Spitfires and shipping, equipment and tools for factories, vital, battle-proved plans, designs and formulae. We have helped to guard the American coastline with warships and planes. Before Pearl Harbour, Britain was paying for war-factories in the United States; to the end of last February we had spent about 2½ times as much in cash there as the value of the lend-lease goods we had received. Lend-lease works both ways.

It has been heart-rending to see so many countries go down before the Axis hordes—humiliating; but we have not been cowardly; we have only been ill-prepared, as were these countries; not one of them, except France and the British Commonwealth, fired a shot against the Axis until themselves attacked, and only the United States lent substantial aid or concerted any plans for mutual defence. All these countries, like ourselves, believed earnestly in a democratic peace and would not pay the insurance premiums that defence demanded. Now and again we hear from stern critics of our past failures to "rescue" one or other of the victims of international mob-violence; but I have noticed that these stern critics are often the same gentry who were previously wont to denounce "armed imperialism", who urged and delighted in that very disarmament that left the road open for those gangsters, Hitler and Tojo.

Speaking of critics, it is often forgotten that democratic criticism, which is healthy and stimulating for home consumption, may be a handy propaganda weapon for the enemy and even misunderstood by one's friends. We all have our Bernard Shaws and Theodore Dreisers, licenced court jesters. But people abroad are apt to generalize from particular criticisms and your and our war-effort may be underrated because of some remarks of our own.

No, the United Kingdom has not been slacking these three years at home or abroad. Over 70% of army casualties of the Commonwealth has been from the United Kingdom.

About 90% of the crews of His Majesty's ships of war come from the United Kingdom. Last June, of the crews of the combat planes, 67% in the British Isles and 83% in the Middle East, India and Ceylon were United Kingdom men. Of the ground crews 97% at home and 99% overseas were United Kingdom. While the planes were 87% British at home and 75% British overseas.

May I remind you that the population of the United

Kingdom, four times that of Canada, one-third of the United States, is about half that of Hitler's Germans, without counting his jackals, vassals and slaves.

For a year after the collapse of France, we had with us, besides the Dominions, India and the Colonies, only gallant remnants of the conquered countries.

By the way, not enough is known about the war effort of India, partly because so much has been said about a noisy, if picturesque, political clique there. I find that few people know that there are more volunteer soldiers in the Indian fighting services today than there are registered members in the Congress party, which many people mistake for a representative body or Parliament. There are more than one and a quarter million Indian volunteer soldiers in India, 300,000 more fighting abroad (and gallantly they have fought in Libya, Abyssinia and Burma). There are 70,000 new volunteer recruits a month and would be more if equipment were available. The Indian Air Force is growing fast; there are 10 squadrons already. The Royal Indian Navy, small in 1939, has increased 600% and is fighting efficiently, while 40,000 Indians help to sail Allied merchant ships.

It is the many Indians who are united with you and with us in beating back the aggressors, who will earn the right to take the final step in self-government; not the minority that have tried to sabotage the defence against the Japs. And this final step will be but a small one, for British officials are scarce in India today; for example, the Viceroy's Executive Council of 15 has 11 Indian members, and 23 of every 25 Judges are Indians.

Giving all the great credit that is due to India, the Dominions and the Colonies for this valiant aid, it is still the 46½ millions in the United Kingdom that have had to carry the brunt of the conflict and carry it on short rations, under enemy bombardment, with heavy taxation.

That last word sounds much more unpleasant to you, I fear, than it did a couple of months ago. If it will give you a little cold comfort, may I remind you that, while you are now paying income tax at the same rate as our Exchequer has been extracting from us for 18 months you are not yet paying purchase taxes of 66⅔% on luxuries, 33⅓% on necessaries and 16⅔% on essentials. We have some other bright ideas on inheritance tax and other levies that you may be more comfortable without!

But the Briton pays his or her taxes with a kind of fierce joy, as so many nails in Hitler's coffin. There is little in the shops to spend it on, any way, and no time to go to look for what there is. Much of what the tax-collector leaves goes into War Bonds, the sales of which continue to be amazing. Over 17 billion dollars already.

The curious resentful determination that animates our masses in this war is reflected in the story of a charwoman who had just finished her nightly cleaning of a room that I once occupied in the War Office when the building was hit by a bomb. She and her colleague picked themselves up off the floor, sucked cuts on their hands, as they surveyed the mess of glass, splintered wood, plaster and other débris. "They would, the blighters", said one, "they would; just 'as ah've finished puttin' it orl nice an' tidy." And they set to work to tidy up again as best they might.

I find that many people on this side are much interested in the social effects of the war in the United Kingdom. They may be assured that there is no question *whether* the old way of life in the United Kingdom *will* go; it has gone—gone forever. As bombs have blown away buildings in Britain's cities and towns; some old, some new; some good, some bad; so the forms of our life—our conventions, our standards—have had great holes blasted in them by the war. What has gone is part old and part new; part good and part bad. Much of it would be harder to bring back than the buildings. We shall build both anew, on better lines—and not at home only. In the world of today, no people can build by and for itself alone. Nor can any one people determine the pattern of the world.

Let us bend the sacrifice and co-operation that are born of war to the service of peace and we shall produce a peace fit for heroes. There is, indeed, an interesting spirit abroad in Britain today. Not very clearly defined, for we are not a very articulate people, but you cannot fail to feel it, to see its effects. Born of community of effort and sacrifice, of long, difficult struggle in a great cause, it has brought the people more closely together than ever before.

If we sometimes grieve over vanished homes, comforts and pleasures we know that we are living through the greatest drama of history, we like the simplicity of life, the objectivity and "busyness" of life. Most men and women in Britain today are doing two or three jobs at once; there is little time for boredom, if amusements and luxuries *are* scarce. We like our truce from party politics, our unity, our spiritual peace at home.

So we have toiled, with help from you and others, up the long and painful hill from the Dunkirk milestone to the Dieppe milestone. During that time we have had to dash about plugging holes in dykes, holes that might have let a savage foe through to deal a mortal blow. But now we are near the top of the hill; we begin to thrust at the enemy instead of parrying his blows. We shall soon see the grand assault.

And none too soon, for time is no longer on our side. It was, until this year, because the Axis powers had had seven years' start of us. But now the war-industries of the free United Nations are, on the whole, in top gear and our resources have been reduced by enemy conquests, so that we have to turn to substitutes for some materials. The Axis, on the other hand, if left in peace to exploit their conquests, will organize them ruthlessly to increase their supplies; they may be able to prepare for a very long war and defeat our blockade—for a time.

So it is doubly urgent that we smash the Axis quickly, before our economy is further strained and before the enemy economy is strengthened. Every moment is vital, every brain and hand is needed, there must be no flagging now, as we hasten on to the last milestone of the war.

If I have barely referred to the great war effort made by Canada from the beginning and that now being made by the U.S., it is not because I fail to appreciate it, but only because I have thought that you would not wish me to take up your time on matters that you know better than I.

Finally, what is it that we are fighting for—we of the United Nations? We are fighting for the right to have as much individualism, as much liberty, as people and nations can have without interfering with the liberty and individualities of their neighbours. We are fighting against that arrogant, Nazi, Fascist, Shinto system that deliberately sets out to enslave the world for their own benefit, to establish a caste system beside which the Hindu system is merciful. We are fighting to prove that this world of ours, with all its imperfections, frivolities and shortcomings, is too grown-up for such barbaric tyrannies. By our unity we shall win this fight. By our unity, and only by our unity, shall we achieve a just peace and build a world that will justify the sacrifices that our nations are making now, a world that will not again plunge into this abyss. God grant us all the faith, wisdom, courage and steadfastness to see this through in war and in peace, to still petty jealousies and to rise to our full destiny. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Before thanking you, Sir, formally, may I introduce another speaker, Captain Donald Wilkins, formerly of the 75th Toronto Scottish, who has recently transferred to the Paratroops, who is a hero just home. Captain Wilkins has very kindly consented to address a few words to us before we finally thank the speaker.

Captain Donald Wilkins: Mr. President, Distinguished Guests: Thank you for the honour you have given me in asking me to your luncheon today. There has been a lot of adverse opinion expressed since the Dieppe raid, saying that the raid was not worth while, that it was a waste of time and effort, and perhaps a waste of good Canadian lives. That is not true. When such statements are made they don't take into account the fact that in addition to the job of killing Germans, there were a lot of other objects behind the raid, and they don't look at those objects.

The Royal Air Force on the day of that raid scored its greatest victory, the greatest it had scored to date. The Germans lost in planes and personnel more than in any battle todate, even including their greatest loss in the Battle of Britain.

Another result was that as a result of the prisoners we captured we were able to assess something of how Germany was faring after three years of war. We knew there were a lot of substitute materials being used in Germany, but as a result of the prisoners taken we were able to assess that fact a lot more clearly.

Also we were able to tell something of how the French civilians felt. We had not done any fighting on their territory since 1940, and although we felt sure a lot of them would help us we had no indication of how they would feel to have us fight on their own terrain. And that was another result: we found out how they felt if we fought on their territory.

Another result was a great many demolitions.

Then were able to test the defences. We knew Dieppe was a heavily fortified town, but there were certain things we had to find out—about the best way to tackle those things, there was only one way to do it and that was an actual raid.

As a result we were able to find out which is the best way of attacking a point like that.

Then we were able to find out just what the German soldier was like. There were a lot of tales that he was a fat, bald-headed fifty year old man, and that the younger men had all been sent to the Eastern front. My opinion is that there are still first class German fighting men on the Western front. But the German troops are not the swaggering louts they were at the beginning of the war.

One German warrior was shot down in the English channel and picked up by a small patrol boat. We put him in charge of one of the crew with instructions not to lay hands on him for the violence and obstreperousness he had exhibited. In about five minutes the German was laid out on the deck. The officer spoke to the crew man and said, "I thought I told you not to lay hands on him." The crew man said, "Well, I didn't mind him calling the king a swine, I did not mind him calling the queen a swine, I did not mind him calling us all swines, but when he spit on our ocean, that was too much." (Amusement.)

Another result: in a great many quarters there had been overlooked entirely the morale of the English civilian people, the people who had worked long and hard and taken a terrific beating. They were more than pleased. It was really a great thing so far as they were concerned to find out that British troops could land in France, kill a lot of Germans and came back again. When we landed at Southampton we got a terrific ovation from the English people. That same effect was felt in all parts of England. It was the topic of the day in London.

Perhaps one of the greatest results was that the Canadian soldier is a fighting man. He established a great reputation for himself in the past war. But now for two years he had been sitting in England, doing no fighting, and a lot of people had the opinion he had not done enough fighting to keep himself in trim. The list of awards proves otherwise. I think as a result of the raid there were ten times as many heroic deeds acted out that day as were reported. Thank you very much.

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: First, Major Warburton, I have to thank you on behalf of The Empire Club for your kindness in accelerating your speed a bit to give place to Captain Wilkins. It must be quite a job to preserve the nice balance in public opinion that you have described to us today, and from the information that you have given to us there is no doubt in my mind that you are doing a good job in the work that you are doing at Ottawa.

It was informing to me, something I did not know before, to find that 1½% to 2% of our entire population are now soldiers in Britain. It was informing also to know that one-fifth of all the houses in Britain had been bombed. We know that the bombing has been terrific, but I don't think it has heretofore been brought to us quite in that particular way.

Then the fact that there are 11 Indians in the Viceroy's Indian Council of 15 persons and that 23 out of 25 Judges are native Indians, is news to some of us.

All this information tends to bring home to us the extent of the job that you have to do in keeping this balance of information between the countries.

But I should be very happy to be informed as to the difference in connection with that tax of 33⅓% on necessaries and 16⅔% on essentials. I think some of us would be in grave doubt, in the light of the difference in tax, as to which were necessaries and which were essentials.

It is interesting too to note in a recent publication that the Army is preparing a dictionary of English terms and words and pronunciations, particularly pronunciations of place words and names in Britain, for the use of the United States Army. I fancy our own armies don't need this assistance.

Thank you, Sir, very much for the pleasure you have given to us this afternoon in bringing to us this informative address.

And for you, Captain Wilkins, we are very happy to act as your hosts today. It was a very happy thought on somebody's part that you should receive an invitation to come. The information you have given us has added much to our knowledge with reference to some of the criticism some of us may have had in mind regarding Dieppe. Thank you, Captain Wilkins. (Applause.)

Gentlemen: The meeting is adjourned.

"RESISTANCE IN FRANCE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MADAME GENEVIEVE TABOUIS.

Chairman:

The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, October 22, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Ladies, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Cassandra was the daughter of Priam, King of Troy. Apollo became enamoured of her and gave her the gift of prophecy. When she spurned him, he showed his resentment by inducing her hearers to disbelieve her predictions.

This Club does not often have the privilege of entertaining a woman guest-speaker; this is one of those rare occasions. Our guest is a native Frenchwoman who, though brought up in the free-thinking, democratic influence of the Third Republic, yet was strictly schooled in the ways of life of the older regime in a family devoted to art and letters. Her talents might forever have been lost to the world, if it had not been for the separation of Church from State in the first decade of this century, when the old order changed. Under a more intelligent freedom, she continued her studies, went to the university, specialized in archaeology and Egyptology, became a teacher of that subject in the Musée Du Louvre in Paris, and wrote several books on the subject, three of which were awarded "Best Book" mention by the Académie Francaise.

She is the niece of Jules Cambon, who was Ambassador at Washington in 1897, and of Paul Cambon, who was Ambassador in London. As she herself says, it was her uncle Jules who was the dominating influence in her life.

She spent much time with him while he was Ambassador at Madrid and Berlin, and, under his tutelage developed a scrutinizing knowledge of international politics and European diplomacy.

Journalism was a natural development and she entered this field of activity in 1924 as Diplomatic Correspondent for three French newspapers, and in 1931 was appointed Foreign Editor of *L'Oeuvre,* where she remained until 1940.

During this period she travelled extensively in Europe, attended International Conferences and League of Nations meetings, and was attached to all French Delegations as a Diplomatic Journalist. Meantime she was writing books, the best known of which are *Jules Cambon—Told By One of His Family, Blackmail or War,* and *Albion—Loyal or Treacherous,* which last is a strong appeal for Franco-British friendship and co-operation.

Her insight into international politics was admitted by Mr. Hitler who, in an around the world broadcast, sneered: "As for Madame Tabouis, that wisest of women, she knows what I am about to do even before I know it myself".

A few hours before the French Armistice, she was told in Paris that the Gestapo was going to arrest her and, under this threat and the conviction that she could do more for France by being at liberty, she escaped to England, and later came to New York. Here she established and continues to edit a paper called *Pour La Victoire,* and here she wrote a book, published just this year, entitled *They Call Me Cassandra,* an autobiography, which explains the efforts which she made to save her country from the impending disaster of German domination and occupation, and to keep it strong in its alliance with Britain—efforts based upon knowledge and information not credited by her people. *Cassandra.*

Et maintenant, Madame, il nous fait beaucoup de plaisir de vous avoir ici aujourd'hui et de vous saluer en la langue Française, la belle langue du beau pays de votre naissance.

Moi-même, Madame, l'honneur est à moi de vous présenter à cette compagnie. Voulez-vous avoir l'obligeance de nous adresser la parole.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Madame Geneviève Tabouis. (Applause.)

MADAME GENEVIÈVE TABOUIS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: In a few years after the victory of the United Nations, when we consider the reasons for Hitler's defeat, it may be that the very first tragic mistake made was to believe that he could invade Great Britain a few weeks after France's capitulation.

The second costly mistake was to under-rate the Soviet power. It is said, as you know to-day, that when he was trying to persuade Goering of the advisability of the Russian campaign before June, 1941, he said, "But Hermann, it is terribly simple", and that when he speaks about the same Russian campaign to-day he says, "It is simply terrible".

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, Hitler made his third great mistake in France. To invade France was relatively simple. Quite true, my country didn't realize the significance of the Nazi menace until after the Nazis had already installed themselves in our country and their invasion, which was accomplished not so much through the Army of Occupation as through the Fifth Column Army, ate into our happy and care-free Republic with incredible swiftness and efficiency. Remember, the invasion was accomplished over two years ago, but to-day France is not conquered, (Applause.) And if France stands unconquered in the face of the enemy, it is because Hitler, the greatest mass psychologist of all times, was misinformed by his agents. They told him in our country there was no patriotism and they told him that decay and corruption reigned supreme in France.

You must remember that in June, 1940, Hitler was convinced that the French nation's army and fleet would be at war, as his ally against Great Britain within a few months of his invasion. But to-day not only is this very far from the truth but France is the spearhead of resistance to Nazi Germany.

Yes, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is true that overcome and bewildered by the defeat which they could not understand, all France remained for about six months in the condition of a body under anesthesia, but then in June, 1940, General De Gaulle made the statement, "We have not lost a war, we have merely lost a battle", and since that time, 100,000 soldiers, sailors and pilots have managed, each one at the risk of his life, to join De Gaulle's Fighting French Army, and to-day their military achievements have succeeded in restoring—Oh, in a very, very modest way, of course—France's place among the United Fighting Nations.

Their military achievements—yes—but also the fact that the Fighting French National Committee is to-day known to represent the determined resistance of the French people and the organization of this resistance. And, Ladies and Gentlemen, completely apart from the military contribution of the Fighting French Army stands the resistance of the French people to the Nazi invader.

In the office of the paper which I edit we often receive letters, and enquiries about the French resistance —What have the radical Socialists to say? Do they govern by manifestoes, or do the Colonies have separate organizations? And do their leaders compete with De Gaulle? And so on, and so on. Such questions are quite natural for anyone who knew France as it was two or three years ago, but the facts to-day are amazing.

France has undergone a startling transformation. To-day there are no more political parties, no more dissension. There are just two classes—the Collaborationists and the Resisters of Naziism, and the latter represent about ninety per cent of all Frenchmen.

Deep hatred divides these two factions. No reconciliation is possible. The solution will only come with victory for one or the other class of people. To-day the political leaders fighting the Germans are no longer known as Socialist Leaders or Radical Socialist Leaders, or Leaders of the Right, but simply as De Gaullists.

I fought for many years to achieve unity in my country because I knew so well that unity alone could insure our victory over the Nazis, and I feel confident to-day because unity has finally been achieved in France.

Well, how can I validly described this picture of resistance for you, as it works from the top of the administration down to the humble peasant or fisherman? Here is an example. Without giving away any secrets, I can tell you that planes have found their way, mysteriously, to certain places in France, where they have picked up leaders of different groups, taken them to London, where they were received in De Gaulle's headquarters, and just as mysteriously the men have been taken back to their homes.

In France to-day there are four main groups of the Fighting French, each with its own publication—I mean its underground newspaper.

You see, there is no dissension between these groups on main issues. They are organized more along lines of class. For example, the first group has a majority of young intellectuals, and the second group has a large number of former aristocrats in its organization, and the third, Liberation, is mainly made up of Socialists. I repeat, however, the convictions and aims of all the three groups are the same, even though the Communists have held aloof for some time. At the beginning they continued to publish their paper, *Humanite,* as an underground paper. But when De Gaulle was recognized by the Soviet Union they joined in with the other groups and their paper will probably now be authoritatively published in Moscow.

Now, you could ask me, what activities can such groups carry out under the eyes of the Gestapo or under the eyes of Vichy? Well, you will be surprised to know how much can be done by men and women who have the courage and determination that exists in France to-day.

Their group centres can organize sabotage. They organize a resistance of the workers in refusing to go to Germany. They can also assist those who want to escape to join the De Gaullist forces overseas. They can work to acquire arms, and recent news of the happenings in France show the French people put these arms to good use.

When the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies were disbanded a few weeks ago by official degree, you will remember the eloquent and public protest of Mr. Herriot. While the whole world observes him, we French observe something else. We observe that they have not one single Deputy or Senator, even among the Collaborationists, who dares to speak out against Mr. Herriot.

It is the same way throughout their administration, charged with the enforcement of the Vichy decrees. They have performed systematic sabotage. Let me give you a small instance. Most of the British who have remained in France did so under the court decree requiring compulsory registration. Four months ago the decree was promulgated, but to-day British subjects and other foreign residents are still at liberty, Why? The Vichy functionaries find daily pretexts to delay action.

If you multiply this small instance by thousands of new decrees, then you have an idea of why Pierre Laval chose to go over the heads of his puppet subordinates and to plead directly to the people to try to find support for him.

Well, Gentlemen, as you know, Germany has no patience. Herr Hitler has informed Laval that unless 150,000 French workers are in the Reich by November 15th, then he, Pierre Laval, may expect to be replaced.

I just heard, before leaving New York, that Pierre Laval had been summoned to Berlin by the end of next week to explain his failure in recruiting the workers demanded by Hitler.

At this time Laval fears two things. One, as I told you, that he will be replaced. The other, that the Germans will now insist on a military occupation of the un-occupied zone, as well as the rest of France. But Laval did not seem to have any trouble in committing his latest act of treachery. I refer to the granting of French citizenship to several hundred of the Gestapo men. This new act will permit the new French citizens to move freely among the French to speed up the recruiting of workers for Germany among those who still resist. The two million workers that, as you know, is the total demanded by Hitler, are the latest of the victims of Laval's treachery. They will surely never return to French soil alive and as the prisoners whom Germany did not send home, they will serve Germany as a permanent means of pressure and blackmail against the Vichy Government whenever it acts too slowly in carrying out Nazi orders. The German Government can always say, "If you don't do this we shall torture and kill so many of your workers".

Two years of training in the underground movement have given the French people a keen sense of their responsibility toward European nations and especially a keen sense of their power over the Vichy Government. For instance, when Laval attempted to establish a day of mourning for France for the French people who had died during the Dieppe Commando Raid, the following leaflet appeared on the same day the announcement was made. It read: "Gentlemen of Vichy, don't come and pray over our graves for you have given our possessions you have delivered our power and our lives to the enemy. We want no part of your national mourning day. France went into mourning on the day of your treason. Your collaboration is infamous for it has designated our country as a traitor to our former allies. You said you did not want Frenchmen to die in battle, but to-day they fall as victims to your crimes. No, Gentlemen of Vichy, do not pray over our graves."

Now, I tell you personally, since I now have the privilege to do so, all the real meaning of the Dieppe Commando Raid to the Frenchmen and women. Dieppe opened once more and for all time the question of the Canadians in French history books. Canadians, our traditional Allies, landed in 1942 upon our soil, the first ones to bring the first message of liberation to our people, and I want to tell you this as loudly as I can to you Canadians: We shall never forget what you did for us.

I want to tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, about how the French resistance movement means to go into every class of the population, and it is plain how in each field men and women manifested their resistance against the new orders in France. Persecution of the Jewish population went hand in hand with the persecution of the French clergy. Such men as the Archbishop of Toulouse, and the Bishop of Montauban, with their congregations were the most ardent defenders of French Jews, and the most outspoken.

When the Vichy Minister of Information prohibited the priests from printing the protests over the persecution of the Jews in France, Catholic priests throughout their parishes spread the powerful message from their pulpits and aside from the arrests of Catholics, we have during one week 120 priests arrested in one Department of France for so-called British-Judea propaganda crimes.

I have seen with my own eyes the list of instructions handed by the French censors to the priests. I am invariably astonished when I speak to people just arrived from the ports and find out how much they know, but last week I had a conversation with Andre Phillipe, a leader in the Free French movement, a Socialist Deputy who now is a member of the Fighting French National Committee in London and who has recently escaped from France. I got the true facts. Firstly, through deliberate carelessness on the part of those whose job it is to enforce the regulations forbidding the population to listen to B.B.C., every one does, and every night at nine o'clock the streets are empty, while all the nation listens, avidly for news of the military progress of the United Nations.

The underground press in France includes hundreds of papers, which were at first produced by hand around a family table. Now they have become more business-like in appearance as the popular subscriptions and contributions grew.

I have already referred to the four main papers. These papers which at first were known in the nature of propaganda have now found this propaganda unneccessary. Their readers are already fully convinced of the need of liberating France and are more concerned with getting news.

In the same way the De Gaullist movement in France, which was at first semi-co-ordinated, manifested itself in individual terrorist acts, or individual gestures of sabotage. But to-day this is no longer true. When a train carrying ammunition to somewhere in Occupied France is wrecked that is news. It is carefully suppressed by the officers, press and radio but of course it is known within a few hours in Occupied France. And when a bridge blows up, when the workers in a factory go on strike, the same fact holds true. This means that every act of resistance in France to-day is part of the whole co-ordinated organization with ramifications in every part of the country.

I cannot speak of French resistance without mentioning the glorious role of the youth. As you know, their main work is to facilitate the movement of the De Gaullist volunteers. These young people arrange for passage to Spain or for contact with the fishermen of Brittany, who take the young volunteers over in their boats. Every such assignment, as you can imagine, means death. Nevertheless, this action has been performed over 100,000 times.

Although the youth took the initiative, the people of France were not long in joining in the resistance against Vichy and Germany, and in fact it was Pierre Laval himself who set the spark to the glow and made it flare up. Last July he said in his famous speech: "I, myself, wish for a German victory". So those who had been uncertain until now knew where they stood and the people of France said to each other, "Well, we always had our doubts about him but now we know. He is a traitor."

Having come to that conclusion, the mass of the peasants and the middle class knew what to do. They joined the forces of resistance. They were determined to frustrate Laval. In his plan Hitler had relied upon the assistance of the French Army and Fleet within a few months of the Fall of France, but to-day, upon the advice of his military experts who watched the manoeuvres of the remaining French Army a few months ago, he has ordered this army to be disbanded. For his advisors told him that if these men were to be armed they would surely and immediately turn their weapons against the Vichy Government and against the Nazis.

This is the picture of France in the war to-day. Here, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to quote to you some extracts from a manifesto which was printed as a leaflet and distributed in Underground France. It tells of the aims of the French people, it tells of their hopes for the new France, and from the bottom of my heart I tell you it is really and truly the deep expression and the genuine summary of the hopes that burn in the heart of every Frenchman. The manifesto says: "For the time being all our energies must be concentrated on throwing out and defeating the invader. So long as he is within our land, so long as he imposes his plan and laws on us, so long as he shoots the most noble of our comrades, nothing will count for us but to see the day of his ruin and destruction. After that we shall rebuild France. Our fathers of the past paved the way for the conquerors to-day. Out of the nation that was betrayed we shall build a Republic which the Republicans lacking in faith did not dare to defend, but with victory, liberty will be restored to France. We will reaffirm that we are united in realizing the necessity for political economy and moral changes. These shall be both popular sovereignty and the rights of the individual, and we shall see to it that the new democracy is cleansed from the top to the bottom. It shall be looked upon as an ideal and not as a routine. We are protected by means of strict discipline against the dangers of indifference. We shall be armed against the dangers of conspiracy as well as against briberies of any sort. We shall be guided by obedience to the laws, respect for reason and conscience. The France of to-morrow will make the world forget the defeat of yesterday, the shame of to-day."

The fight against respect for the rights of the workers has been evoked countless times, but never realized. We set ourselves the task of restoring to the workers' class its traditional rights, the right to organize its unions so that the worker may freely determine his life through the recognized channels of his choice. Thereby he may participate to an ever greater degree in the administrative and economic life of his country.

France and the European Continent will emerge transformed from this crisis. With all our might we call to the forces of freedom and liberty who have been drawn so close to valour by the great trial of suffering and the nightmare of this war.

Ladies and Gentlemen, a few weeks ago Edouard Herriot placed this question squarely before our nation. He asked: "Shall we allow liberty to die in the very country which saw its birth?" And to this question the Vichy Government replied by arresting the great Frenchman, but the French people have answered differently. They are answering Mr. Herriot every day with the sacrifice of their lives, and they are saying: "No, Liberty shall survive in France and the hour of her liberation shall illuminate conquered Europe with the first rays of victory." (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Madame, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have listened to an amazing address by an amazing woman—an address full of the wisdom which is the product of opportunity for observation, keenness of perception, tidiness of thought, and precision of language.

I don't think that there is anything I should comment upon. It would detract from this most amazing address. There is one item, which is ever present in the minds of most of us Canadians, and that is the affair at Dieppe. It is a great consolation to receive from Madame Tabouis the information which she gives us as to the effect of that raid, informally, in France, upon the people of France.

It is not an unusual thing that there should be divisions in France. We used to laugh sometimes before the war at the number of divisions in the French Chamber. There were so many Lefts and so many Rights, and so many divisions of the Left and so many divisions of the Right. It is very reassuring again to know that 94 per cent of all the people are now united with one aim.

You are a very brave woman, Madame, to come to us to-day and to deliver such an address as this. Your people, we know, are in Paris! It has been a unique pleasure to have you with us and we thank you sincerely from the bottom of our hearts that are Canadian hearts, here, there and always. (Applause.)

“WHY PAINT IN WARTIME?”

AN ADDRESS BY

MISS SHEILA MACDONALD

Chairman: Vice-President W. E. Humphreys, Esq.

Thursday, October 29, 1942

MR. W. E. HUMPHREYS: Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with regret that the President cannot be with us today owing to his official duties.

On my own behalf, I should like especially to welcome Miss MacDonald, for it is about fourteen months ago that we had the privilege of receiving her in Toronto to christen one of His Majesty's ships in which Toronto is interested, namely H.M.S. *Fort York.* I had the privilege, personally, of witnessing a launching a few days before that, and the lady who then christened was not very strong-armed. In other words, the bottle, I think, failed to break on the ship's bows. So I very politely warned Miss MacDonald that, when she christened H.M.S. *Fort York,* she should make sure that the bottle broke, with the result that I think the sound of the bottle breaking, which Miss MacDonald threw at the ship that day, is still ringing around the world. (Laughter.)

Many persons have expressed keen regret that last Thursday's meeting, at which our guest speaker was a woman, was not made an open one. By rather subtle management, therefore, it was arranged that this meeting should be an open meeting. The reason—another woman guest speaker. And that is the reason for the presence of our wives and daughters and friends and sisters, to all of whom, on behalf of The Club and the President, I extend a warm, cordial welcome.

Our guest, Miss MacDonald, is an outstanding exponent of the ideals of the English-speaking Commonwealth of Nations. Daughter of a Prime Minister of Great Britain, and sister of an outstanding member of the House of Commons who is now High Commissioner to Canada for the United Kingdom—the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, she has had much experience on the hustings and is a seasoned political campaigner and has had a lot of platform experience for both father and brother. While a considerable weight was laid upon her by reason of her family's position, she has added much glory to that which has been reflected by her father and brother.

Miss MacDonald is a graduate of Oxford University, has specialized in politics, economics, and philosophy, and is rather proud of the fact that she has worked in Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and for two years was tutor in a little backwoods island of the British West Indies. We are sure that if it were not for the present wartime conditions she would give us a very interesting talk of her experiences in the British West Indies. She has also been a deputy lady visitor at a boys' prison. As a matter of fact, her main interest has always been with young people—in clubs and schools and prisons.

In deciding upon a subject for her address today Miss MacDonald suggested that she was scarcely qualified to given an address on any highbrow subject but would prefer to talk on a theme which had been rather neglected: "Cultural Activities in War". This is the subject of her address, but in order not to allow prejudice to engender fear of scholasticism she has clothed it with the intriguing title: "Why Paint in Wartime?"

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my great pleasure to introduce Miss Sheila MacDonald. (Applause. The audience rises.)

MISS MACDONALD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It was very good of you indeed to give me such a warm welcome. I must admit I do need reassuring a little because I feel I am more qualified to break bottles over the bows of ships, or talk to you about "why paint in wartime" with reference to cosmetics, instead of, as I intend to, telling you a little bit about cultural activities in time of war.

I spent last winter in Britain, and one evening I was turning over the pages of a journal, while I was in the country, and a photograph of a strutting bird caught my eye. It was an illustration of a letter to the Editor, which ran as follows: It said, "My photograph is of a cock-bustard in half display. That its display habits should be so closely comparable to that of the turkey is worthy of note."

To me it didn't seem at all worthy of note. What was worthy of note was the fact that owing to the great shortage of coal I had not enough hot water for a bath that night, that I had not enough wool to finish a sweater that I had started, not to speak of the worry of deciding how I should eat my fortnightly egg which arrived from the dairy that morning. Then I thought about it again and decided that perhaps I was glad that people should still be able to take delight in bird habits, and my mind went back to a journey in Germany some years before. I had spent the afternoon—an idle afternoon—with a group of young Nazis. There happened to be in Berlin a magnificent concert that evening conducted by Furchtwangler, and knowing that one of these young Nazis was a very fine musician I said to him, "I suppose you are looking forward to the concert this evening." He drew himself up erect and said, "I no longer go to concerts. My whole life is now a sacrifice to my Leader—Hitler." I must say I prefer the attitude of the bird watcher.

Now I know that a lot of people, particularly at this time, think that there is no place in life for culture. But that is, I think, because they misinterpret culture, they don't understand clearly what culture means. They think of it as some elevated and obtuse intellectual and aesthetic learning; they think of it as something that comes with degenerate leisure, and which if discouraged will eventually die out. But culture is something quite simple, quite humble; a simple appreciation of beauty; it is study, thinking, refinement in mind and sensitiveness. But a lot of people say, even though it is that, we have no time, no place for culture in wartime. We must devote our whole lives to this great war effort, in producing weapons of war and in fighting, and anything which is not devoted to that is a waste and a softening and we must not allow it to interfere with our war effort.

Now please don't think that I think the photographing of birds should take precedence over the photographing of enemy territory, or that we should not give up our binoculars to the services, for, of course, the war effort *is* our primary concern. I don't know how many times it has been said that we must win the war before we can start winning the peace. But I think attention to culture is part of our war effort. In the first place, we are not fighting this war merely to regain our material comforts, nor to destroy Axis members. We have got to get something more out of our efforts than that.

We have a wonderful tradition behind us, a tradition of individual liberty, a chance for the individual persons to develop as they want to, to follow up their own lines of interest. We have a magnificent heritage of lovely things and lovely thoughts, and if we now, here, do not cherish that birthright and do not develop it ourselves, well then, why bother to fight for it. In the second place, if we do destroy this cultural side of ourselves we are destroying an integral part of ourselves and, naturally, an important part of our personality, and it would be suicide to try to do it. It was Fletcher who said of the poet that it was his business not to save men's souls but to make them worth saving; and it is up to us to help out the poet. Thinking of that young Nazi, what a miserable mite he will set up on his sacrificial platter to Hitler, occupied zone, as well as the rest of France. But Laval did not seem to have any trouble in committing his latest act of treachery. I refer to the granting of French citizenship to several hundred of the Gestapo men. This new act will permit the new French citizens to move freely among the French to speed up the recruiting of workers for Germany among those who still resist. The two million workers that, as you know, is the total demanded by Hitler, are the latest of the victims of Laval's treachery. They will surely never return to French soil alive and as the prisoners whom Germany did not send home, they will serve Germany as a permanent means of pressure and blackmail against the Vichy Government whenever it acts too slowly in carrying out Nazi orders. The German Government can always say, "If you don't do this we shall torture and kill so many of your workers".

Two years of training in the underground movement have given the French people a keen sense of their responsibility toward European nations and especially a keen sense of their power over the Vichy Government. For instance, when Laval attempted to establish a day of mourning for France for the French people who had died during the Dieppe Commando Raid, the following leaflet appeared on the same day the announcement was made. It read: "Gentlemen of Vichy, don't come and pray over our graves for you have given our possessions you have delivered our power and our lives to the enemy. We want no part of your national mourning day. France went into mourning on the day of your treason. Your collaboration is infamous for it has designated our country as a traitor to our former allies. You said you did not want Frenchmen to die in battle, but to-day they fall as victims to your crimes. No, Gentlemen of Vichy, do not pray over our graves."

Now, I tell you personally, since I now have the privilege to do so, all the real meaning of the Dieppe Commando Raid to the Frenchmen and women. Dieppe opened once more and for all time the question of the Canadians in French history books. Canadians, our traditional Allies, landed in 1942 upon our soil, the first ones to bring the first message of liberation to our people, and I want to tell you this as loudly as I can to you Canadians: We shall never forget what you did for us.

I want to tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, about how the French resistance movement means to go into every class of the population, and it is plain how in each field men and women manifested their resistance against the new orders in France. Persecution of the Jewish population went hand in hand with the persecution of the French clergy. Such men as the Archbishop of Toulouse, and the Bishop of Montauban, with their congregations were the most ardent defenders of French Jews, and the most outspoken.

When the Vichy Minister of Information prohibited the priests from printing the protests over the persecution of the Jews in France, Catholic priests throughout their parishes spread the powerful message from their pulpits and aside from the arrests of Catholics, we have during one week 120 priests arrested in one Department of France for so-called British-Judea propaganda crimes.

I have seen with my own eyes the list of instructions handed by the French censors to the priests. I am invariably astonished when I speak to people just arrived from the ports and find out how much they know, but last week I had a conversation with Andre Phillipe, a leader in the Free French movement, a Socialist Deputy who now is a member of the Fighting French National Committee in London and who has recently escaped from France. I got the true facts. Firstly, through deliberate carelessness on the part of those whose job it is to enforce the regulations forbidding the population to listen to B.B.C., every one does, and every night at nine o'clock the streets are empty, while all the nation listens, avidly for news of the military progress of the United Nations.

The underground press in France includes hundreds of papers, which were at first produced by hand around a family table. Now they have become more business-cently had an equally popular programme which was full of the most extraordinarily sloppy sentiment. In fact, it got so serious that the BBC has had to ban, what they call, the broadcast of excessively sentimental music. I must say I pity the director who must pass judgment as to what is excessively sentimental, and what is not.

Between this general interest in and appreciation of these subjects, oddly enough in wartime, there is an increase in actually creative work itself. I think there is not a long step from the appreciation of a picture to trying to paint a picture. Of course, a great many people have not the time to devote to these things. But people in the services often have time on their hands, while they are waiting on duty, particularly in civil defence. And so from the Air Force you find there has been a crop of plays by boys who have been inspired to write, stirred by fresh experiences and new contacts with fellow men. Then you get painting. We have a mass of exhibitions done by civil defence artists. Not all the pictures are about the war; you find, in fact, there is quite a reaction against painting war subjects. Also, not all the pictures are well done. You do not necessarily applaud a picture just because it is done in wartime; some of them are sadly unattractive. But I went to one of the London Civil Defence Exhibitions and there was one very interesting picture that was chosen by the judges, and they found that it had been the very first picture that artist had painted. The artist came up to see his picture proudly hanging on the wall, and what is more, the picture was sold. Now that man was not well-to-do at all and I imagine he would have had all kinds of expenses that that money could have gone to. I imagine his wife would have had ideas about spending that money. But that man went around and then spent all the money he had received in buying a picture that pleased him the best. That was really a remarkable man, and it is so thrilling that those abilities are coming up to the surface.

Next month in Ottawa, for instance, we are having a concert by some of the refugees. It is grand that these people have a chance to reassert their qualities and exercise their talents; but how can we avoid wasting abilities of this kind? Naturally, we turn to our government, and the government in Britain has taken upon itself to take culture under its wing, as it is taking so many other things under its wing. It is not only directing mechanics to make aeroplanes; it is also directing musicians to make music. It is not only spending large sums of money on armaments and all the other things needed to wage war; but it is also spending a tiny fraction of the national money on cultural things. Some people think that that's a revolution. I would not say that, but it is certainly a great innovation. I think it is just a part of the whole process. After all, the government has taken over the care of people's bodies; it provides for them in hospitals; it provides convalescent homes for them. Talking about that, the Gleneagles Golf Club has now been taken over to be used as a convalescent home for Scottish miners. Not only have they done that, but the government have taken over the education of children. The next step, it seems to me, is very locigal—to take over the education of adults.

I would like to tell you a little bit about what CEMA—the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts. CEMA is a great organization. One of its latest activities was to buy a representative collection of contemporary British paintings. These are going to be sent around to factory recreation rooms and to mining villages and they will be displayed in British restaurants. In the catalogue is a sentence which is very descriptive of what that organization has in mind. It says "the very modesty of the exhibits is a proof that painting is not solely a thing for public galleries any more than flowers are things solely for public gardens". It wants to take these pictures to a much smaller unit than the great exhibitions, make them come much more close to the people than hitherto.

This entry of the government into these planes, of course, might be very serious. You have got your people perforce collected in big groups—your shelters, factories, your services—and if a sinister government came along and put across all kinds of propaganda material, well, then, you have all these people at their mercy. I would like here to drag in a little story, which perhaps is not quite to the point but which does show how serious it might be when this intensive government campaigning to put across a certain subject overrides the true scientific attitude. The story is about Milton and Rose-Mary. Milton is six and Rose-Mary is four. Rose-Mary was in an inquisitive state of mind one day and she asked Milton who made her. Milton said: "Why, God, of course; Mummy always tells us that." Rose-Mary was not quite convinced. "But does God make our skin; does he make our hair?" "Of course," said Milton. "Does he make our bones?" Milton thought for a moment, then he said, "I don't think God makes our bones. I think he gets them from Salvage." (Laughter.)

Another activity that the government is now engaging in to bring these ideas and these cultural activities to the people, is factory concerts. I went to one of those factory concerts when I was in London. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, I went to one that was not a great success. I think it was not a success for two reasons. In the first place you must have the active approval of your managerial side of the factory in things like that. In this case the management was not at all interested and it lacked their support. In the second place this concert was held in the canteen in the lunch-hour, and owing to some delay the main service was not finished by the time the concert began. So the three magnificent musicians had to perform their very lovely trio to the percussion of the knives and forks and cups and saucers. But what interested me and made me perhaps a little sad was that, looking around the audience, I saw that whilst the older people were intensely interested, the younger people were chattering and shuffling and paid very little attention. We shall have to attack our younger people a little more in that way, I think. There is a great deal of work going on, but a great deal more is needed to get them interested so they will appreciate those sort of things.

It's very fortunate, I think, that we all have this increasing interest in these pursuits, and that there are people who are creating these things, and that we have a big organization like the government who are interested in supporting them because, of course, there is so much to be done. There are so many ugly and drab, unattractive things in our existences still. For instance, when I was in Britain I spent quite a lot of time travelling, and it interested me to look around at the advertisements. Now some of the advertisements are very good, particularly the ones sponsored by the various government departments—for instance, something like your Wartime Prices and Trade Board advertisements—and I think there is a great consciousness that advertisements should be attractive. I remember one advertisement in particular which obviously showed that the person who laid out that advertisement realized that an appeal to the charm of the poetical sense would be highly desirable, and so the wares were advertised with the following couplet:

"I can't read this letter, you have often heard it said.
I do wish he'd use a typewriter instead."

Well, that is something on the right side, but it could be improved. People are beginning to criticize things like that and I think we will have an improved standard in our advertisements.

Then there's our schools. A lot of the new schools are lovely; a lot of the old one are very drab, and we have no business to be bringing up children in those unattractive surroundings.

We have a wonderful opportunity coming, once we have started on the reconstruction of our homes and replacing our furniture and our clothes and all the other things that we have to neglect somewhat in the war; and I think this appreciation of cultural things is getting right through to everybody, and so we will find that this reconstruction will be undertaken with the proper appreciation of the nice side of things, of cultural things and attractiveness. We will have to be like the man whom I happened to come across in my prison work, the man who was applying for the job of executioner in one of our London prisons. He wrote a letter putting forward his qualifications and his experience, and then, as an after-thought, he put a P.S.—"I think I should add that I also hold the Gold Medal of the Royal Humane Society for life saving."

Well now, I do hope, Mr. Chairman, that we in this horrible destruction of war will be able to save what is attractive and what is of value in our life. (Much applause.)

Miss MacDonald was presented with a bouquet of red roses by Mrs. John C. M. MacBeth, the wife of the President.

Mr. W. E. Humphreys: Ladies and Gentlemen: I am going to ask the gentleman at the end of the table to thank Miss MacDonald. He is a Scot, but I don't want to tell you his name.

Mr. J. Morgan: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I would like to explain that you may be very disappointed in the way I express the thanks, but the only reason I have been chosen is because I have a broad Scottish accent. I have a daughter 16 years of age and I hope the day will never come when I cannot detect the Scottish accent. Therefore, I feel just a little bit disappointed in Miss MacDonald to think that her father, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, would have brought her up in such a way that you could not hear the Scottish burr. I think it's a shame. I think they used to say the same thing about Lord Tweedsmuir. Of course, it's different with me; I have not been here very long. I have only been away from Scotland 32 years—(laughter)—so I have not lost my Scottish accent.

But I like one story about Ramsay MacDonald which used to be told by Mr. R. E. Knowles, who one day went to get some local colour. He got hold of an old man who showed him around. The old man took him first to the house where Mr. MacDonald was born, he took him to the school he went to, and then to the farm where, he was told, Mr. MacDonald had picked potatoes for a shilling a day as a young lad. Then they wandered back to the town and Mr. Knowles said he thought he had been to all the places that he would care to see. Then the old man said wistfully, "Wud ye no' like to see where I was born mesel?" (Laughter.)

Just one other thing. They chose me very badly because we are told that the Scot has nothing to do with culture and it is an impertinence for him to deal with it.

I don't think you need to have any fear about the loss of culture in the British people. Culture comes from within and not from things without, and even among the lowly people of Scotland you still have culture in abundance—and England is just the same.

Miss MacDonald, I wish you had spoken with a Scotch accent. We have enjoyed every word of it, if you can come back, even though you have to learn it again, we would be very glad to hear you. (Applause.)

Mr. W. E. Humphreys: Thank you Mr. Jerry Morgan.

The meeting is adjourned.

"CANADA"

AN ADDRESS BY

RT. HON. THE VISCOUNT BENNETT OF MICKLEHAM, SURREY, AND OF CALGARY AND HOPEWELL, CANADA, P.C., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L.

A Joint Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada and The Canadian Club

Chairman:
The President of The Canadian Club, J. G. Godsoe, Esq.

Saturday, October 13, 1942

MR. J. G. GODSOE: Your Honour, Gentlemen: It is always a happy occasion to welcome back home an old friend, and particularly so when that old friend is also a very dear friend. To-day this is a pleasure of the members of The Canadian Club and of The Empire Club. When one evening three years ago we bade farewell and paid tribute to Viscount Bennett in these same halls we did so with very heavy hearts because we knew we were going to miss him. Well, Gentlemen, we have missed him and we have missed him very much and I would hope, My Lord, that perhaps you also have missed us. I can say, however, that while Viscount Bennett has been away from us we have not forgotten him. Indeed, he has been ever constantly with us, not only in affection and grateful memory of what he has done for Canada but also, Gentlemen, for what he is continuing to do in his now wider work. (Applause.) We are happy to know that Viscount Bennett is doing a splendid job, a magnificent job as the London Chairman of the Canadian Red Cross. We are grateful to know that he is looking after, constantly looking after our sons who are overseas and we are proud to know that he is to-day considered as one of the ranking Empire figures in the British Empire. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the Right Honourable The Viscount Bennett of Mickleham, Surrey, and of Calagry and Hopewell, Canada. (Applause.)

VISCOUNT BENNETT: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Canadian and The Empire Clubs:

I came to speak to you to-day as a Canadian-born British subject, resident in England, who has returned to his native land and who has visited all the provinces, I think, but one—Prince Edward Island—and who proposes to indicate to you some of the impressions left upon his mind with respect to the Empire affairs and with respect to Canada and its relation to that Empire. A rather ambitious subject, isn't it, to cover in a few minutes?

I cannot tell you how sad at times I have been to see the misunderstandings of the position of Canada and the other Dominions within the Empire, and of the vast colonial possessions in the Seven Seas of that Empire. I read in the press of the addresses that are made, of articles contributed, that show a complete misunderstanding of the whole fabric of Empire, and I propose to say a few words with respect to that. Some have even said that they would not have us as companions in this great war if we were fighting to maintain the integrity of this Empire. Well, we are, and please God, we will win.

I suppose in all the history of mankind there is no story more entrancing than the tale of the development of governmental institutions in the British Empire. It is a tale of small settlements, little groups of men and women, some discovering a new land and others making their initial settlement there, with comparatively few areas secured by conquest, as such. Where there has been the effort to maintain law and order and give the benefits of some form of civilization to the millions of inhabitants, you may designate that part of the Empire as having come by conquest. And it must be a matter of satisfaction to know that very early in the development of the history of our race and our Empire we realized that the people must determine for themselves the sort of institutions they would create for governing themselves.

We learned in the American Revolution that it was unwise to assert the letter of the law, which was the right of the Parliament of Westminster to legislate for the Empire as a whole. There had arisen, as the result of the establishment in the overseas Dominions of these institutions for self-government by which they imposed taxation upon themselves, a resentment against the idea of a Parliament at Westminster, in which they had no voice, imposing legislation upon them. And it will be within your memories that the greatest statesmen of that time—Burke, Pitt, Fox—opposed those measures that brought about the American Revolution and terminated in their independence.

But it might be well for us to recall that the great United States of America was founded by Englishmen and that the greatest Englishman of his day was George Washington. That is worth remembering. And in the long roll of names of those who signed the Declaration of Independence, you will find four, at least, who sat at their meetings and at their dinners in the Middle Temple in London.

So great is the contribution of this little island that I would like to refer to it as being the Mother of Parliaments. It has established in every part of the world free institutions, and enacted Constitutions that the people in those communities have themselves agreed upon, not made by them as a Parliament, but by the people who resided in the communities in question. I would like to think of that Mother of Parliaments, strong and vigorous in days gone by, and yet looking out upon the world that she has done so much for with high courage and great faith, and what is more, at the critical time in the history of this world, when the very foundation of our civilization was threatened, standing not alone as she did in days gone by, but aided, supported, by those great Dominions that she had founded, she alone defied all the forces that were making for the destruction of Freedom, of Liberty, and of Civilization itself.

I would like you, my friends, to realize, and if you do not, it is because you have not given it thought, the gradual development of these institutions from the time that men and women in small numbers settled in these overseas lands and created the institutions for their own government. They had a Governor, as representing their Sovereign, the head of the state, the Chief Executive, and after that the people governed themselves with increasing authority and responsibility, as they became better able to understand the problems with which they were faced.

For instance, England spent some ninety-six millions of dollars in finding homes for the United Empire Loyalists after the Revolution. These things we forget. She spent more money, for instance, in the fortification of Halifax and Esquimalt than we were able to do in the early days of our own Confederation. These are things we should keep in mind.

But, oh, my friends, every Canadian, French and English alike, must have in their minds a sense of great responsibility, of great gratitude for the generous terms that England always has exacted from those she conquered. It would be idle to deny there was a battle on the Plains of Abraham. Not God himself could change the facts. It is true, British troops and forces under General Wolfe achieved a victory on those Plains, but it is also important to ask what were the terms the conqueror imposed on the conquered, and I think you or anyone else within sound of my voice would say those terms were so generous and so magnanimous, as to challenge the admiration of all the peoples of the world. When that moment came, when the capitulation was signed—did you ever have occasion to consider the generosity of their terms? Probably because both Wolfe and Montcalm died in that great battle, the terms were more generous than they otherwise would have been, but when you remember that they conceded their racial rights, the freedom to worship their God as they might please, fifty years before there was Roman Catholic emancipation in England, itself, and in respect to their jurisprudence, they retained everything that had to do with the administration of their laws—all these were conceded by the conqueror. It revealed the generous heart of a great people who have always believed that war is not unlike a great prize fight, and when it was over, they shook hands with those whom they had overcome and said: "Let us go forward now to constructive effort."

We owe England something for that, do we not?

And think what we owed when twelve years later, the colonies rebelled and attempts were made to induce the French-Canadians to rise against England. You recall the answer that was given then was: "We enjoy such freedom, such liberty, that we will not exchange them for anything that you can offer."

Why? Because they found that their life under the British flag and under the English King was as free as they ever enjoyed, if not freer than before the conquest.

You remember, Montreal fell and then the forces of Montgomery journeyed to Quebec, and Benedict Arnold reached Levis with his forces and you will recall how they attacked Quebec, the last fortress that stood between all that area, as vast at that time as it is to-day, becoming the fourteenth colony. But Montgomery fell before Quebec. I think it was the last day of the year 1775, he was killed. Quebec was saved to the British Crown, but within that fortress that encompassed that victory over Montgomery and Arnold, you had the English marines and soldiers, aided by the militia. And so Quebec to-day has right to be grateful and thankful that British soldiers and sailors saved Quebec as an integral part of the Empire.

You recall the American Civil War and the stories following it that because we showed some appreciation —it was thought undue at times—for the South, a Member of Congress proposed two Bills to annex Canada to the United States.

Why was that not achieved? Because we were part of the British Empire. Do you realize that but for that we would in six days have become part of the United States of America, for our population then was small and there weren't a hundred thousand people west of the Lakes, including British Columbia, clear through to the Pacific?

Now, that is worth thinking of as an additional debt we owe to England.

And one more. You rejoice over the richness of your mines and minerals in Quebec and Ontario. I mentioned to you the Battle of the Plains. Did England claim this rich heritage of mines and minerals and forests? Did you ever think that not one sou ever went to England—not one sou. They handed them over to the people that inhabited the Provinces and they to-day are the sole beneficiaries. Then they say we owe nothing to England!

I recall these things because it is important that we should keep in mind that our national existence has been brought about by being part of the British Empire.

Then think of what happened immediately after. England realized that a divided series of colonies could not possibly long survive, if the United States made up its mind to annex us, but united we would present a different picture. So we had Confederation. We had a Confederation of those small provinces by the sea, of Quebec and Ontario and we had the Dominion of Canada. thanks to the genius of the great Earl of Durham. Lord Durham's Report did so much with respect to that. But there we have it—a consolidated Dominion, extending to the coast, and many and many a time since then, but for the fact that we are part and parcel of the British Empire, the integrity of this country would have perished and we would have ceased to be the Dominion of Canada.

Will you please keep in mind, my fellow Canadians, for I dislike hearing, as I sometimes have heard, attacks against what is called the Imperialism of England? I speak not of England simply as a geographical unit set in the northern seas, but of England, mother of freedom and cradle of a great Empire—an Empire that has sought to extend its citizenship as widely as possible, and to induce in every part a sense of equal possession, on which a common patriotism may be founded.

Then you have Australia, with its colonies and its difficulties, united together in one great Commonwealth under a Constitution not made by England, but by themselves, in solemn conference. That Constitution was given effect to by a Statute of the Parliament of Westminster, at the request of the Australians themselves, and it went so far as to provide that they can amend their Constitution without reference to anybody else in the world. They have the right in Australia to amend and alter their Constitution as they see fit under the conditions mentioned in the Constitution itself.

Then you come to New Zealand, that abolished its little provinces and provided for government by unitarian system that still prevails. Even the teachers are employed by the Central Government in New Zealand, its population being but 1,600,000.

Then you come to South Africa. My friends, who to-day stands out in all this world of ours as the great proponent of the British Empire? Jan Smuts. And who is Field Marshal Smuts? A few years ago I was down in that country and I climbed the hill, Magerfonteinn, and I realized that the Highland Brigade was destroyed before that hill, under the direction of a great military leader, General Smuts. And to-day, forty years after, he is the great advocate of the freedom and liberty that his people and all others enjoy within the Empire of which they became a part. Don't we owe something for that? Who speaks, then, of slavery? Who speaks, then, of Imperialism? And his troops are fighting in every one of those great campaigns that are being waged in Northern Africa and in Asia, and he is now in London, giving the benefit of his great experience and his rich, fine judgment to the British people. Yet he is the man who forty years ago commanded the forces that destroyed the Highland Brigade. My friends, can you point to anything like that in history? That is the achievement of this old England, that they say is so decadent.

Now, let us for a moment realize how these British people saved the world, not in the days of Napoleon or Louis, or of the Armada, not in the days of the Great War of 1914 to 1918, but to-day. Do you realize that after the fall of France, all that stood against the destruction of our Christian civilization was the British Empire? Abandoned by her former ally, with whom her plans had been completely made, both on sea and land, struck suddenly with this tremendous catastrophe, they still stood firm, but this time it wasn't England alone. It was Canada and New Zealand and South Africa, Australia, all these were standing by the side of the old Mother, and it was no longer England, or Britain, but it was that entity called the British Empire, that family, so difficult to understand, that preserved our common Christian civilization.

That fills you with a sense of pride. Of course it does.

I saw something of what they endured. I remember when the troops came back from Dunkirk. We had lost all the magnificent equipment that we had sent to France. We had to start over again to rebuild the broken fortunes of our army, and they went at it, too, in the face of great difficulties. And to-day, my Canadian friends, proud as I am of your great achievement, industrially, I venture to believe that Mr. Howe, after his recent visit to England and with all his pride in this country's output, felt humbled in the face of what he saw in England. He will tell you that. So will Humphrey Mitchell.

I have visited factories in which there were thirty thousand people engaged in filling shells with dangerous explosives, and eighty-five per cent. of those employed were women, facing all the risk attendant upon it. Day and night, seven days a week, the work went on so that there might be no shortage of munitions, no shortage of shells, no shortage of anything they could make.

There was the spirit of devotion, of loyal devotion, but it was more than mere patriotism, it was the belief, the very honest and urgent belief, that God had entrusted them with the preservation of the world's civilization. And if you have reason to be proud of anything in the world, it is if those magnificent achievements that have made possible the present position.

Nor am I unmindful of the fact that my fellow-Canadians took part in one of the greatest epochs of all time—the Battle of Britain in the air. And, oh, there is something so inexpressably strange about it all. You are chatting with a boy now. A few hours from now he has given his life to his country. He is up in the air—he is pursuing the enemy. He may fall into the sea or be destroyed. But the Battle of Britain will always remain one of the great achievements of the British people.

When I say the *British people,* you notice I didn't say the *English people,* for there were men from Australia, men from Canada, men from other parts of the British Empire, all together making that gallant struggle that saved this fortress, Britain, from destruction by the enemy. For the enemy cannot succeed until he has destroyed that fortress. That is something to keep in mind.

We have had discouragements. Of course we have. We haven't had great victories, but the spirit of the people, the grim determination, the loyal devotion to a cause ensures that the day of victory is not far off.

Sometimes I wonder whether there is any clear appreciation on the part of Canadians of the character of the struggle in which we are engaged. You are a bit complacent, boys. Just a bit. I have seen more cars, I think, in Toronto than I see in London. Every gallon of gasoline that goes to England goes at the risk of the lives of gallant men.

To give you some idea of the spirit over there: A mother whose son was in the navy was saving up her coupons so that she might be able to take her boy for drives when he came home on leave. He came home. He said: "No, Mother, after what I have seen of the risk of men's lives that has been involved, I can't bring myself to go on pleasure jaunts with gasoline you save.

I don't say for a moment that that is universal, but there is the spirit that you find expressed in men and women.

There are eleven million women in Great Britain who are doing service for the state. Some in uniform, some not in uniform, some in mills and factories, some driving ambulances, some cooking, some doing stenography, all doing something for the state.

The call-up system has ensured that all men, whatever be their place or walk in life, shall have to respond to the call of the state. It is in common law, I think, that every man has to be prepared, whoever he might be, to offer his life, if need be, to the state. And in Canada we passed the Militia Act under Georges Cartier, that great Frenchman, who lost his place in public life for the moment because he did it. History has shown that there is only one fair way in which the citizens can serve the state in time of war and that is by their systematic registration, being called up in classes, regardless of whom they may be. That is something that cannot possibly be gainsaid in the light of experience in England.

I have travelled from Victoria to Halifax. I know a good many people in this country and they are not all on one side of politics—and those whom I don't know on the other side, know me. But, at any rate, be that as it may, I do desire to say this now. I have formed certain clear impressions. I do not know whether or not they are sound, but I am going to give them to you for what they are worth. They represent the conclusions that I have drawn from talking to men on all sides of politics. Between the Pacific and the Lakes I talked with many men, and one conclusion I arrived at I felt might be folly, and so I went to one of the leading Liberals west of the Lakes, and he not only confirmed it, but he amplified it. That conclusion is this: From what I was told—mark you, I don't say it is only my own opinions about the matter—there is a growing number of men and women between the Lakes and the Pacific Ocean who say quite frankly, for the first time I have ever heard it said in my life, that they would prefer to be part of the United States of America than to be governed by a minority. That is a conclusion I have drawn from what I have heard, and that is confirmed by one of the leading Liberals west of the Lakes. Men, that must be remedied. That must be remedied.

The freedom, the liberty, the privileges that were conferred at the time of the capitulation, so satisfied the people of that day that they denied the right, in terms of blood itself, to unite with the great people of the United States in rebellion, and that saved us and our integrity as a people, and surely it can't be said that those terms are unfair to their descendants, if their forefathers regarded them as fair.

Not only fair, but go and read the words of the great Chaplain, Father Sabourin, of *Les Fusiliers,* who spoke the other night in Montreal. He said: "At Dieppe we fought not as French Canadians, but Canadians. At Dieppe what we were fighting for was our religion, for our race, for our language," and he called upon his fellow Canadians to join him in the doing of it. Why? Because in the long days that have gone, when passions were aroused, when antagonisms were fresh, if they found what England did was not only fair and just, but generous, how dare those that are descendants deny that? Why should they go about this country and talk about the unfairness of England? Who dies if England lives? That is the question.

Then I received another impression from talking to various people. That was that we were suffering from a bit too much bureaucracy. I am bound to say I see more of it than I have been accustomed to see. Of course, there are only 45 millions of people in England and problems are somewhat more complex, but that is not important.

The other day I wanted to find somebody in an office in Ottawa and finally, after much effort on the telephone, I was referred to the Secretary of the Controllers. That is the position with respect to that phase.

Men, the price of liberty is restraint. Always keep that in mind. And under our institutions, it is a parliamentary restraint, so we have, in the words of Tennyson, "some reverence for the laws ourselves have made".

Now, war is the negation of Democracy. There can be no such thing as Democracy in its true sense in war, and the first thing that Parliament did in this country and in England was to transfer to the Executive of the country the legislative powers heretofore enjoyed by Parliament, so that by executive action or Order-in-Council, they can do almost anything that Parliament can do.

Never forget that once you clothe men with dictatorial powers, they feed upon it. Not consciously, necessarily, but it is a fact, justified by historic incident, that for some strange reason when you clothe men with dictatorial powers, they clamour for more.

But there is just one thing that my friends who talk to me had in mind, and that is the supremacy of the courts. For, remember this, that in England, a case the other day went to the House of Lords, involving the construction of a regulation, so in every country the exercise of power by the Executives is subject to judicial review. Provincial powers cannot be taken away by Executive action. The test is this: At what stage does it become necessary to intrude upon the powers of the provinces for the purpose of defending the life of

Canada? But if the exercise of that power disrupts and destroys the British North America Act, in its granted powers to the Provinces, the Courts will hold it invalid after judicial review.

All through the ages since we established our courts we have relied upon the power of the judiciary to restrain the power of the Executive, and you history students will recall when James wanted something done, the old Chief Justice told him he could get twelve lawyers to do it, but not twelve Judges.

And so the right of judicial review I find is a matter that is constantly in the minds of people who speak to me about the question of bureaucracy.

I find also great apprehension on the part of people in Canada that I have talked with regarding our operations overseas. They ask me continuously. I can't answer. I don't know why Canadians will have to spend, some of them their fourth, Christmas in England without ever having fired a shot in action. They tell me in England that isn't what they went there for. They know better than I, but all I do know is Canadians are asking and re-asking, as I go about: "Why is it, why is it that a Corps was formed from a single Division, and from that we have an army—with or without adequate reinforcements?" They do not know—I cannot say. With or without adequate preparations, I cannot say—I do not know. But the people are asking questions. And they want an answer as to why the Canadian Army is idle and has been all these years in England.

I talked to a young Canadian. He came into my office and he said: "I want to get back to Canada. I have been here between two and three years. I am not improving as a soldier. I left behind me a wife and child, because I believed it was my duty to do something in my trade to help the common cause. I am now getting no better as a soldier and I am deteriorating as a citizen."

Those words burned themselves into my conscience: "I am deteriorating as a citizen."

That is the reason I find these questions. They are written to me. They are asked me now as I travel over this country.

As I have gone along over this country, there is a deep-rooted resentment—deep-rooted, I say—against an article appearing in a magazine published in the United States, and I should like to say, as far as I have been able in the short time at my disposal to see, some resentment against a recent speech by Mr. Willkie, for he proposes to sabotage the British Empire and it is the first time I have ever heard the representative of an Ally indicate what he is going to do with that part of the world called the British Empire. We cannot win the war alone. But, side by side, marching together, we can win and we will win. And I think it is a very great mistake for any man occupying a great position to indicate that he proposes to destroy the British Empire.

And talk about India. Well, my friends, the greatest tribute to English greatness is the Government of India. There is a lack of understanding, a lack of appreciation of what is going on. There is a failure to understand that the British people have always set before them one goal in every land that they have occupied, and that has been: "When will come the day that you may govern yourselves?" That is the keynote. The *Pax Britannica* has not been "How many soldiers can we turn out?" as did the French in Morocco. No, the *Pax Britannica* means the Peace of Britain and the development of a people, the development of resources, order regulated under the law, and the administration of justice by the people themselves. That has been their object and their aim.

When you talk about India as though you knew something about it—who knows about India more than do the British people? Who struggled more to give India the universities that have been established, the schools, the efforts at education? And it has been very difficult, too, because they have found it not easy to bring in a measure of education to the Indian people. You know, there are 225 languages in India. Do you know that 68 per cent. of the population are Hindus, 22 per cent. Moslems, and 10 per cent. all other religions? There are between six and seven millions of Christians and 66 per cent. of the people are engaged in making a living for themselves on the land. There are 570 Indian States. Yet Lord Simon said the other day: "We have given peace for a century. The warring elements have been held from tearing at one another's throats, and we have kept in front of them always the goal of the day when they might rule themselves."

In all these great States there are Legislatures and Governments—sometimes two Chambers, sometimes one. The great India Act of 1935 contemplated a federal union, practically, and a Government of India.

But we weren't going to make the Constitution for them. We didn't undertake to make the Constitution for India. We said: "You will make your own Constitution, as they did in South Africa, as they did in Australia, as they did in Canada, and we will give effect to it." And they are still waiting to make their Constitution.

My friends, it is so easy for men who know nothing of the problem of India to talk about freedom and liberty, and I would remind any of you that four-ninths of India is under the rule of Princes who have a Treaty with England, and that Treaty is being kept, and what numbers of Indians are fighting to-day! Hundreds of thousands of men from India are fighting and they are turning out munitions, working strenuously, but think what an agitator can do—think what he has done in the world! I can recollect something of one in this country. Just think for a single moment—pause for a moment and see how easy it is in passing over a country, just as I have been doing hurriedly, moving by air and I see you, and you, and you, and you, and you tell me that people are clamouring for something. Do the voices of a dozen people represent the opinion of 400 millions? You see, it is so easy. Perhaps the impressions that I have got are wrong. I have only seen a few peoples as I have moved about. What chance has Mr. Willkie to arrive at any adequate conclusion with respect to the people of India? Four hundred millions—who speaks for them? A dissatisfied propagandist, a fanatic who says: "I can't frame a Constitution. I am not interested, but I want something else." Why cry for the moon when you can get the green cheese here? That is the position.

And, oh, men and women, let us not be deluded into the thought that India is not well governed. Take your Whittaker's Almanac, and look down the long line of Legislatures in all the scattered 570 states, and I say to you that the proudest boast that the British can make is in reference to the Government of India. There has been justice, the reign of reason and law and an opportunity given to men to work out their destiny as free men, making their own Constitution, remembering always that something less than 8 per cent. of that vast number of people are able to read and write. Keep that ever in your mind.

One word more and I have finished. I know there are those who talk sometimes about stalemates and those who talk about defeat and those who say the war may last long and those who talk of sacrifices that are never practised, but less than 20 per cent. of the world's people cannot, in my judgment, dominate by force and fear the free thought and opinion and personality of the balance of the world. It can't be done. If that is so, then our faith in the Christian religion itself is undermined.

When I was a child, I remember learning these words:

> For right is right,
> Since God is God
> And right the day must win;
> To doubt would be disloyalty,
> To falter would be sin.

And I am old-fashioned enough not to have changed my mind. That is one of the reasons.

There is another reason. There is a reason to which Napoleon referred. The forces for the defeat of Hitlerism are gathering. Across the ocean, the Americans are sending thousands of troops, realizing that their fate is not being settled in the United States, but in a far-distant country. They are sending their men by hundreds of thousands. They are sending their resources of various kinds and this country has reason to be proud, and every one I have seen is proud of our industrial output, and the contribution that we have made in food and munitions to a common cause, and I rejoice with my fellow-Canadians to that end. But all the food and all the munitions won't win the war. You have got to have somebody that eats the food and fires the guns. A silent gun won't win a war. We may indeed ask ourselves to what extent we are able to maintain the army that has been idle for so long. These are questions that you are concerned about.

Men, the struggle is, as Abraham Lincoln said, that government of the people, by the people, for the people should not perish from the earth. That is what the struggle he waged was for. Well, you are faced with it as never before, but don't put it on one man or two. When you say Democracy fails, that is a want of confidence in yourselves. You have failed, not somebody else—you. You have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is you. In that Constitution and Democracy each one of you is a unit and if Democracy fails, you fail. Don't blame somebody else. Make yourselves effective. Public opinion is the most powerful of all factors that determine political action and you can make public opinion. You can make it. Of course you can. It has been made in days gone by, and let us see to it that we make it.

My friends, there are so many things I would like to say. I must now conclude, but there is this one word I should like to say to you. My final word is that Victory is absolutely assured if the people of our Anglo-Saxon world and our Allies fight as they should fight. That is, with all their might, with every ounce of their strength, with every man they have within their power to place, with every machine, with every ship, with every gun. We must win if we keep in mind that the price is ever continuous effort, and after all, it is the fate of a Christian civilization that is at stake.

Two thousand years of Christian civilization is culminating in this. You read it in Holy Writ. You remember what is said: "The days of anti-Christ will be upon us." To me this is just as much the struggle of the anti-Christ as anything you can ever believe in. It is our Christian civilization that is at stake.

Men, in your hands and the hands of men scattered throughout this land and other lands rests the determination of that issue. It is a pretty solemn thought, and believing as I do in actions and reactions and searching for one sentence that I might leave with you to carry you through the dark days, I give to you this: God help us and make strong our will to meet Him unashamed.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, My Lord, Gentlemen: I am going to make use of a license, a license for which, strange as it may seem, I did not have to apply to the Wartime Prices and Trade Control Board.

. It is a license that will permit me to make two or three changes in a verse of poetry which I came upon in my reading this week, a poem by Hilaire Belloc, and, in its amended form it runs like this:

"If I ever become a rich man,
Or if ever I grow to be old,
I will build a house with deep thatch,
To shelter me from the cold,
And there shall the Surrey songs be sung,
And the story of Surrey told."

My Lord, the last time that your lordship addressed these clubs was in December, 1939—a little less than three years ago.

The world upheaval was then but a few weeks old, and, Sir, you foretold a long, hard struggle, and warned that the Atlantic Ocean could easily be crossed by the enemy, and that the fact that we lived on the American Continent did not give us any immunity or any certain security.

Less than three years ago!

How true has that prophecy been!

And then, Sir, you left us and went to the Old Land, to Surrey, and became one of the famous Canadian Busy Bees, an exponent of the loyal and industrious spirit of the Canadian people.

You fellow citizens, Sir, are happy that merit has been recognized and that, whereas you went from us as The Right Honourable Richard Bedford Bennett, you now return to us as The Right Honourable the Viscount Bennett of Mickleham, Surrey, and of Calgary and Hopewell, Canada. But yet, withal, a Canadian.

In the fifty-first chapter of the prophecies of Isaiah, the prophet calls "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn."

Your Lordship replies "of Calgary and Hopewell, Canada."

And so, My Lord, it is a great pleasure to have you with us to-day as a guest of The Canadian Club and The Empire Club of Canada.

We are grateful to you, Sir, for giving us in this address the advantage of your observation and experience —your forecast is full of hope—not excessive optimism, certainly not pessimism, but may I say realism?

And now, My Lord, we wish you a fair journey and a happy landing, a journey that, I venture to hope, will be ended before the Winnipeg Convention begins.

"ON ACTIVE SERVICE WITH THE FIGHTING FORCES"

An Address By

MAJOR BERT S. WEMP,
Editor, *The Evening Telegram.*

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, November 5, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen, before the speaker is introduced I should like to make an announcement which gives me great sadness to have to do. In the last few hours we have lost an Executive of the Club in the person of Mr. Ross Robertson. He was a very fine gentleman and we shall miss very much his counsel and advice. It gives us great sorrow to have to report his passing.

Gentlemen of The Empire Club: It does us good to see so many representative citizens here to-day to listen to the address of this speaker of merit. It sometimes falls to the lot of a Chairman to introduce to an audience a speaker who needs no introduction. To-day is one of those happy occasions. The requirements of our official records, however, must be met, and, therefore, we say that our guest-speaker is the City Editor of *The Evening Telegram,* that he was Chief Magistrate of this city in the year 1930, and that he has just returned from a trip to Britain as one of a small group of representative newspaper men who, at the invitation of General McNaughton, went to visit the Canadian troops. He is himself a soldier, a veteran of the 1914-1918 phase of this war, a Major of the Royal Air Force, as were designations of rank and service at that time, to-day's comparable rank, which he holds, being Squadron Leader. He carries the Distinguished Flying Cross of Britain and is a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold with Croix de Guerre of Belgium. He has been flying since 1911, and it is of special interest in the development of aviation to record that he has flown one of the airplanes built by Bleriot, of the type in which Bleriot himself flew across the English Channel in 1909.

Gentlemen, it is my privilege to present Major Bert S. Wemp, who will speak to us on the subject, "On Active Service With the Fighting Forces".

MAJOR BERT S. WEMP: Mr. President, Mr. Mayor and Members of The Empire Club: It is indeed a pleasure and an honour to have this opportunity to speak to you on the service of our boys who are "On active service with the fighting forces overseas".

Flying the Atlantic both ways overnight or between meals leaves even an old flyer rather confused for a day or two as to time and space. We flew in a four-engine bomber in 9½ hours, and made the trip homeward, the last 2,500 miles, in one jump. The peculiar circumstances of that is, that you only have 19 hours in the day going over and you have 29 hours in your day returning.

Leaving Ireland we had our dinner in a luxurious machine, heated, lighted, ventilated, upper and lower berths, all the accommodation and meals just like this, over the Atlantic. We played bridge until midnight, then turned in, had eight hours and twenty minutes sleep, or rest, and then got up at 3.20 in the morning, having gained five hours, and it was quite a long wait for breakfast.

I have often predicted an hourly service to the Continent, but that is not only an accomplished fact now, but at the rate the bombers are going over the Continent it will be necessary to cut that by a half or two-thirds for on some nights they are leaving every 20 minutes. We spent two weeks with all the units of the army, ten days with the Royal Canadian Air Force, with our boys attached to the R.A.F. We visited the Navy, Merchant Marine, the Royal Ordnance, airplane factories, huge underground cities, devastated cities and had the privilege of interviews with nine members of the British Cabinet including Prime Minister Churchill.

Our overseas forces are a grand body of men, toughened, hard and Commandos all. We saw them on the English Channel returning from Dieppe. Our boys, that is the boys from Central Ontario and Toronto, including the Royals, the Essex Scottish, the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry, went in on the east. As you know, they met a German convoy and E-boats, one hour out and two to go which gave the enemy plenty of warning. They had to go on and finish the undertaking.

I asked General McNaughton in one of the three conferences with him, "Why our boys had not withdrawn when the Germans had been warned so long in advance of the coming attack?"

He said it was too late. The others had gone in on the right and centre and the operation had to be completed. Our boys went in under murderous fire and that is why the casualties were so heavy.

One of the outstanding flyers in the raid on Dieppe was none other than Pilot Don Morrison of Toronto. Don now has a record of six shot down, six probables and four damaged. He was so close to a Focke-Wulf when he opened fire with his cannon it went down in pieces and the wreckage flew back to damage his own machine. He was forced to jump and parachuted into the English Channel. He was rescued by an assault landing craft. He wanted to be taken to England at once to get another machine—he had to get back in that fray. They told him they were sorry they couldn't return to England. He would have to stay with them and wait for the withdrawal of the troops. Not being satisfied with that, while the Huns were diving here and there sinking their craft, he dived in and saved two soldiers from a boat that had already been sunk. (Applause.)

The pilot alongside of him was Bob Reesor, of the Reesor family in Scarborough. I spent a day with them later after they shot down two more Huns. I said to Don, "How old are you?" He had just graduated from North Toronto Collegiate. He said, "I am twenty". And he has a record of six planes shot down and ten more probably shot down or damaged.

I turned to Bob Reesor and said, "How old are you?" He said, "I think it is all right to tell you now. I am eighteen." There was a boy in the Battle of Britain at seventeen years of age, and doing a magnificent job, and when those boys went out after the Huns they got them.

We spent a day and a night with the Halifaxes, (I don't know whether the names of these machines will mean anything to you or not, but they carry anywhere from two tons to 17,500 pounds apiece), the Wellingtons, the Avro-Lancasters, the Beaufighters, Night Fighters, the famous Canadian Demon Squadron, the Spitfire Squadrons, the Mustangs and the Mosquitoes, one of which you saw fly over Toronto a week ago.

In the sweeps over France and Germany, these boys, seventy and a hundred of them together go down and blow up the trains and shoot up the troops in Germany. When you think, any of you who were in the last war, that we played around with these things (sample displayed)—303's. To have an idea what the boys in these Spitfires do, there is a shell of a Spitfire, an armour-piercing bullet. What our machines are using in Egypt to-day are just that size (sample displayed). So you get some idea, when a block of Spitfires and other machines, seventy-five and a hundred at a time, and pouring down these shells at the rate of 500 to 1,000 a minute each, you know what damage can be done when these are sweeping over Belgium, Holland, France, and raiding Germany in the daytime.

We spent a day and a night with the Halifaxes and the Wellingtons. The Halifaxes are the large 4-engine machines, and the Wellingtons are the large 2-engine machines. They carry gigantic loads. When we reached the Halifaxes and the Wellington Squadron they said, "You are in luck. Ops tonight." (Operations tonight.) We spent the afternoon looking over the equipment. We had dinner with them and spent the evening and then at 11.00 o'clock they were briefed. They went across to the airdrome to their machines, got into their flying uniforms and we followed them a few minutes later. We went across the airdrome and waited for the flares to be lit as we stood around the control tower that would soon send these machines on their way to Germany. While we were waiting we heard the sound of airplanes overhead circling around and around.

I said to the Pilot of the first Halifax machine, "Have you any idea what machine is overhead?" We listened for a minute, and he said, "No, but it ain't one of ours". That was very impressive, I can tell you.

A few minutes later the German bombers located their targets, dropped white and red flares and started to bomb. They set the place on fire. The whole sky was full of flak. Then, when the flak ceased and the fires either died away or were put out, the boys got into their machines and away they went for Duisberg in the Ruhr. We waited until the last one was off. Then we went back, tried to sleep, sat up a while, and then waited.

Just an hour or so before dawn we were back sitting in the control tower. The control tower is a square room and on one side there is a big black wall. The boys have their machines listed, A for Albert, D for Donald, G for George. After a while, out of the blackness: "G for George. G for George. Can you hear me? Can you hear me?"

And a little girl, of ninety pounds, with a fine voice, at the radio control—all the radio operations are run by the girls in the Women's Section of the Air Force—she had been sitting at the microphone all night and right back came, "G for George. G for George. We can hear you. We can hear you."

Then came a little later the roar of the engines and "G for George. G for George. May I land? May I land?" And the little voice, back into the microphone as fast as could be, "You may land. You may land."

And around the airdrome, one after another, the machines came in from that raid. Our two Squadrons, the Halifaxes and the Wellingtons had joined hundreds of others of the Royal Air Force in the raid on Duisberg in the Ruhr. They came around and around and landed. Then we waited, for D for Donald was still missing. Finally they said we had better go with the Pilots to the Interrogation Room and hear the story of the raid. They had located the river, located the bridge, located their objectives, they had successfully bombed them and also had taken pictures.

We were eating breakfast when they said, "We think Donald is coming home". We rushed to the control tower again. Out on the balcony on the side we listened and over the radio came, "D for Donald. D for Donald. Can you hear me? Can you hear me?"

And the little voice, right back into the microphone, "D for Donald. D for Donald. We can hear you. We can hear you".

And then, a little closer, "D for Donald. D for Donald. May we land? May we land?" And the answer, "Yes, you may land. You may land."

And back and forth the conversation went. "D for Donald. D for Donald. Can you hear us? Badly shot up. Two engines are out. Fuselage badly shot up. The crew is okay. Prepare for crash landing, if necessary."

So they prepared. They came in, and we stood waiting. Our hearts were hammering and we were watching that undercarriage to see whether there was an undercarriage there or not to come down. Finally, the undercarriage came down and he made a successful landing, and all the boys of the two Canadian Squadrons that night came back from Duisberg successfully. (Applause.)

D for Donald had to take evasive action over Duisberg when he was caught in a terrific barrage of anti-aircraft fire. He was for an hour and a half in the Ruhr Valley and was finally driven east and got a bit to the left over Essen. When he was over Essen the anti-aircraft fire was so severe that he was blown upside down and he flew on his head until he was out of the barrage. Then he straightened out and came back on two engines.

That broke the tension: "And are you surprised?" We were relieved, I can tell you, because after you have spent an afternoon and an evening with these boys you know them and when they go off into the inky blackness at night, carrying thousands upon thousands of pounds you are with them in spirit and you are with them until they come back home.

The Canadian Beaufighter Night Fighters, which we visited a little later, is commanded by Wing Commander Davoud, who was a bush pilot out of North Bay, prior to the war. He is one of the finest pilots in the Royal Canadian Air Force or the Royal Air Force. They are doing a magnificent job, these Beaufighter Night Fighters. I am not able to tell you how fast they go but they are like the Spitfires. They patrol over the British Isles, the English Channel, the Bay of Biscay and the North Sea. They are up there in pitch blackness of the night, up and down, up and down. The little girl down below in another control tower gets a message from the radio locators that the German bombers are coming across. The message is sent out into the night, "We have business for you. We have business for you." In a second comes the voice from the night, "Where is the business? Where is the business?" The little girl gives the location of the business, and back and forth they go. One of our boys was that lad, George Pepper, a Flying Office from Belleville. He got that message, "We have business for you. We have business for you". And back came the answer, "Where is the business. Where is the business". Saturday night he shot down three of the "businesses" over Canterbury, which is a mighty fine job for any lad in one evening. (Applause.)

We visited the Canadian Avro-Lancaster Squadron. I believe you had the opportunity of seeing an Avro-Lancaster while we were away. They are huge. They are really beyond imagination. We went to the ammunition dumps after we had seen the machines. At the first dump they had a little cradle with a 4,000 pound bomb on it. They wheeled it to the first Avro-Lancaster and a crane hauled it up inside. Four thousand pounds in one bomb and all around it were incendiaries.

At the next dump there were 8,000 pound bombs. They were loading these in by crane and more incendiaries went along. We were asked if we would like to send a message to Hitler on one of these giant bombs. I don't mind telling you, though I have handled many bombs and had plenty of experience, it was a ticklish situation to sit on one of these monsters and write a message to Hitler. I can assure you I didn't press very hard on the pencil. If you are victim of a 500 pound bomb you may think you are one kind of corpse. I can tell you, you would have a different conception of a corpse if it is an 8,000 pound bomb that goes off.

Our boys are flying these giant machines, night after night, day after day, over Germany, and they are giving Hitler what he asked for. A thousand planes over Cologne six months ago. A hundred machines can do the same job in bomb loads that the thousand planes did then. That is the development that is taking place.

We hear a great many people talk about a Second Front. In the meantime, those who are competent are giving Hitler and the German people a Second Front right in Germany where it hurts the most. These huge bomb loads are falling on German cities and that is a Second Front.

We visited the Demon Squadron which got its name from the work it is doing and led off in its tremendous undertakings by Ralph Christie of Toronto who won the D.S.O. for sinking four ships, the largest being 8,000 tons. These boys with the Hudson bombers do all their work at night. They load up in England and scour the North Sea to search out German ships in convoys off the Frisian Islands and Norway, because Germany must get iron ore and resources from the north for its industries in the Ruhr. Our boys set off for these sea lanes and when they sight their quarry streak down across the decks to let drop a 500 or 1,000 pound bomb and that is the end of Hitler's iron ore.

In that same squadron are two young lads that I suppose are not more than eighteen or nineteen. They didn't look more than sixteen or seventeen, two brothers by the name of Paige, who were born on Leauty Avenue, Kew Beach. They went across in a snowstorm and were down so low they actually hit a rock on the Frisian Islands and bent a propeller. They managed to pull up and came back through the storm to save the machine and crew. For such outstanding work one received the D.F.C. and the other a D.F.M. They didn't think they had done enough and when they got the machine fixed up they said they were going back again.

These are some of the boys whom I had the opportunity to talk with and they have done up to thirty operational flights and spent hundreds of hours in the air. Every opportunity they are over these sea lanes sinking enemy ships. Photographic records back up the work of these boys.

The day of the navy, army or air force winning the war as a unit is passed. Just as Dieppe was a combined operation of all the services, everything to-day is a combined operation and winning the war will be done by that method. All three work together so that all services are operating with the best knowledge they can get from each other first-hand as the operation takes place.

I attended a Naval Press Conference at the British Ministry of Information and General Tripp, who was speaking for the British Ministry of Information, paid the very highest tribute to our boys of the corvettes. And the First Lord of Admiralty, A. V. Alexander, in making his announcement that 530 submarines had been sunk said a good many of those had been sunk by our own boys of the Canadian Navy and by our boys in the Royal Canadian Air Force.

General Tripp says, "There is no likelihood of a slackening in submarine activity. The output of German submarines remains large. The submarine hazard is a very real one and we must not relax. I cannot pay too high a tribute to the boys of the corvettes. We can't have too many of them. They are bringing the ships through safely to Britain."

And let us not forget the men of the Merchant Marine. Without them this war could not be fought. They are doing a magnificent job every day, all day, winter and summer. They are the boys who are working without glory, just in a pair of overalls.

We had the opportunity of having a half a day each with eight Ministers of the British Cabinet and we had some time with the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill. Some of you no doubt have met him. He is the most dynamic figure I have ever met. He just overflows with optimism and you catch it.

When your President invited me to speak to-day, I said, "Just a minute—is that a joke, or what?" I notice it is the 5th of November and I know the Houses of Parliament has been blown up but I didn't just quite catch the subtleness.

The Prime Minister emphasized very strongly that we have many hard battles yet ahead, but he was never more confident of victory than he is to-day. I said, "Do you think the chicken and the chicken's neck are any stronger to-day than when you made that remark?" You could just see his eyes open and sparkle and he said, "Yes, never stronger than they are to-day."

I said, "You know the people back in Canada are trying to put bigger and bigger wings on that chicken for you." He came around in front of me, and said, "Yes, and *claws,* too." He just makes words jump. I wish I could make words jump like he does. You have heard him over the radio but he is just ten times better when you meet him, personally, because those words just jump at you and he is bristling with optimism.

We had several hours with Sir Stafford Cripps, who had just returned from India. He talked to us a long time on India, and also about Russia. We had an afternoon with the Right Honourable L. S. Amery, Secretary for

India. Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Amery believe that India will settle her problems in India and remain in the British Empire, just the same as Canada has settled her problems and has remained in the British Empire.

I asked Sir Stafford Cripps, "Why didn't you settle the Indian problem when you were there?" He said, "How could I. I couldn't get them in the same room together." He recognized the difficulty. He said, "They will settle their own problems. Another thing you must remember. When the order for the arrests were made in India, there was only one white man at the Council Meeting. All the others were natives." He emphasized that the Indians were ruling India to-day and they ordered the arrests, not Britain, and not the white men in India.

Lord Woolton, the Minister of Food, has really captured the imagination of the British people, particularly with the points system. He said, "The Scotsman had an idea of rationing. A perfect rationing was to have no food and no clothing, but there was only one fault with that—he died. Now, our idea is to feed the people, keep them fighting fit, and not ration them more than we can help."

And he has made a wonderful job of it. During the ninety-one nights of Blitzes in London, not once did the system fail. Breakfast on the table the following morning. The men of that Service delivered the food throughout the British Isles and never once failed for a single meal and they are doing the same to-day, no matter where the Germans hit. It is a magnificent organization.

The milk is saved for children. Eggs are saved for children. You must remember, the young boys of three years ago are now in the army, so it is necessary to keep them fighting fit in Britain.

He said, "We had queues. We don't want queues. One queue creates another queue."

I think this is an old one, but he told it so I am going to repeat it to you. In one section there was a music hall and the people were lined up away down to the corner. A woman coming along and seeing the queue thought she was going to get something and she got in at the tail end of the queue. When they got to the corner she tapped the woman ahead of her and said, "What are we getting?" The woman replied, "The Tales of Hoffman." "What do you do with them. Stew them?" she asked.

I bring back to you several messages from General McNaughton, the head of the Canadian Forces. He said that the army in England or the Army overseas is only a reflection of what you are at home, nothing more. If the Home Front doesn't support the men overseas, the men overseas can't do the job that you and I expect.

Then he said, "Tell the people back home to keep on writing letters, always keep writing letters, because out of touch is out of sympathy." It is always your turn to write. Don't be like the Scotsman who won the V.C. (And I pay great respect to Major B. H. Geary, V.C., who is here to-day on my left.) A pal said, "Sandy, why don't you write your wife and tell her all about it?" "O," he said, "I can't. It isn't my turn to write." So just remember it is always your turn to write to the boys overseas."

I met numbers upon numbers of boys who hadn't received any message from home for a month or six weeks. That is not unusual. Brigadier Eric Haldenby, who took over the 48th Highlanders, and who went to France, took over a French train and got his troops back, and across the Channel, hadn't heard from home for a month or six weeks. The letters had gone astray for the time being. And no matter whether you get letters a month or six weeks old, remember, it is your turn to write.

One other message from General McNaughton: "Guns, tanks, airplanes and ships are good to-day, obsolete tomorrow and a menace in the hands of our men the following day." No one would think of sending our boys into the air, I hope not at least, with an obsolete airplane so he would be sitting duck for the Germans.

We must have all the latest of everything—guns, tanks, ships and airplanes, and that is a job on the Home Front.

He says, "Tell the people back home that we must never be satisfied with what we have. We must have better tools all the time, and in the final battle we must have more and better than the Germans to win the victory."

The people of Great Britain to-day carry on, regardless of raids. There was a time when the Germans raided to interfere with production, but not to-day. I had the opportunity of visiting and walking for hours in underground cities. One underground city was 120 feet below the surface, in solid rock, and I walked for half a day and only saw one-third. There are many of those cities in the British Isles and they are producing everything, including airplanes for a final victory over Germany.

Probably the funniest sight of Old England trying to hang on to its past ways was to be seen in a lift, about twenty feet wide, where we all went down together and the man operating the lift had a pair of striped trousers, a black coat, a stiff collar, a bow tie, a bowler hat and an umbrella. I thought, there was the Old England, trying to hang on to itself in a city 120 feet below the surface, and where they were still trying to hang on to the old clothes.

Down in the South of England, the Germans come over quite frequently—they came while we were there, and a 500-lb. bomb struck, ricocheted off a building about the size of the King Edward Hotel, and killed a lot of people and injured a lot.

In one particular hotel they have a sign. The porters run all the hotels, the staffs are at the war but there is always a porter and the porter is everything in the hotel. When the Germans were coming over two and three times a week the porter in this particular hotel put up a sign: "During an Air Raid—notify the porter if you wish to be called. Otherwise, you will not be disturbed." The "Wailing Willies" may be going, and the buzzers going, and the Germans letting them have 500-lb. bombs, but you will not be disturbed unless you notify the porter.

I walked miles upon miles and blocks upon blocks through the devastation of the English cities and some of the cities have had terrific blitzes. There is no question about that. Some of them have suffered because they were not prepared with fire watchers. Bristol was one, Bath was another. There are blocks upon blocks where the business sections are entirely wiped out. One business concern now in the City of Bristol has 245 watchers alone, prepared for anything that may take place in the winter, because most of the damage is done by the incendiary bombs and if they can be dealt with the city can be saved.

I want to say a word with regard to the A.R.P. work in the City of Toronto. More power to their elbow! May their organization grow bigger, because if ever we have a raid in the City of Toronto we want to be prepared for it and not caught napping.

Yes, they have devastation and they have food rationing, and they have clothing rationing, and they have sweets rationing. They have fire watchers—both men and women—and there is no gasoline for pleasure driving. They have all these things and perhaps half the family, in many cases, in a community cemetery. They are experiencing the toil, sweat, blood and tears, but the spirit of the people of Great Britain has never been and is not broken. They are stronger to-day then ever and there is only one thought in their minds, and that is Victory. (Applause.)

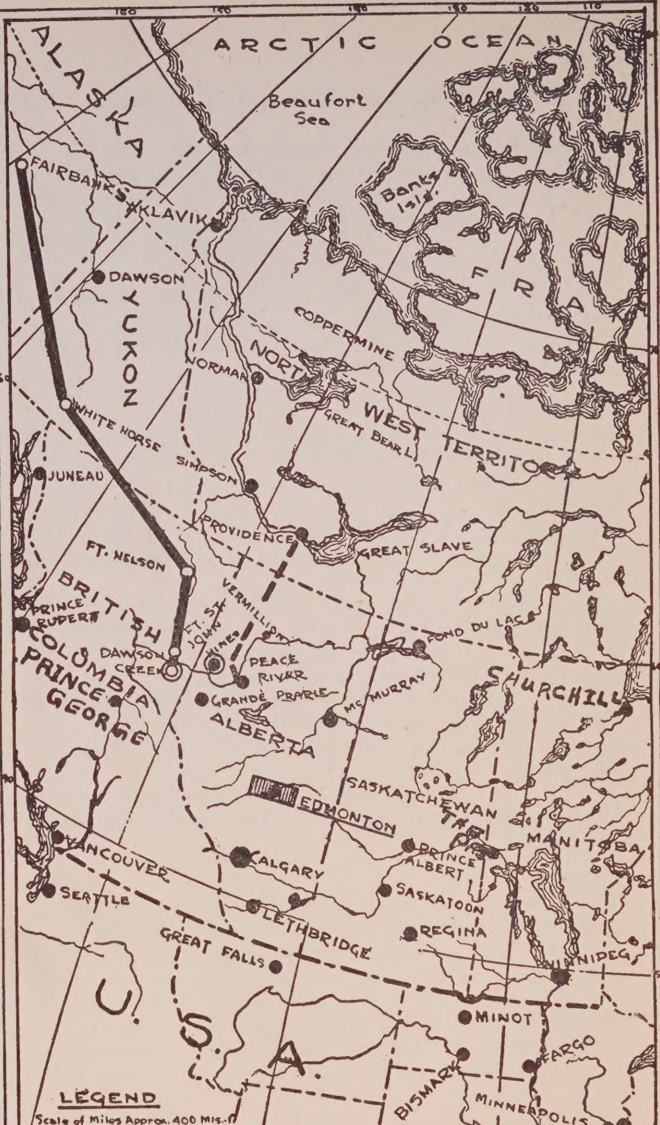
MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Squadron Leader Wemp, you have drawn a very informative picture of real conditions in England, a picture somewhat comparable to that which was drawn by your confrère, C. H. J. Snider, after his return from Britain a few months ago, who gave us the benefit here of his observations. You have touched on very many phases of conditions and you have made special reference to the Air Force, the chivalry of the air. I remember that Bishop Renison, after his return here a few months ago, addressed us, and, in his address, used a quotation which has run through my mind a great many times since. It goes like this:

> "They looked on Death,
> And with him nonchalantly passed the time of day;
> He paused, bewildered,
> Muttered 'neath his breath, 'Immortals, these',
> And laid his scythe away."

These Gentlemen of the Air sometimes are said to live a life of luxury, punctuated by moments of extreme fear. It is not to be wondered at, after the picture that you have drawn and given to us to-day. It is grand to hear you tell of Don Morrison, Bob Reesor, George Pepper, Ralph Christie, the Page boys, one of whom is a D.F.C., the other a D.F.M. These names mean so much to us in our local habitation.

We thank you, Sir, very much. It was interesting to hear you speak of the rations and of the Scotsman's attitude toward rationing. I think, possibly, it has not been thought that good old oatmeal porridge might contribute to that ration. The comment has been made that that is what they feed the horses on in Scotland. The reply, of course, was, "Did you ever see such horses, and did you ever see such men?"

Squadron Leader Wemp, we thank you for the trouble you have taken in coming to address us this afternoon. (Applause.)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NORTH WEST TERRITO
NORMAN
GREAT BEAR L.
WHITE HORSE
SIMPSON
JUNEAU
PROVIDENCE
GREAT SLAVE
FT. NELSON
BRITISH COLUMBIA
VERMILLION
FT. ST. JOHN
MINES
PRINCE RUPERT
DAWSON CREEK
PEACE RIVER
FOND DU LAC
CHURCHILL
PRINCE GEORGE
GRANDE PRARIE
McMURRAY
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
EDMONTON
THE PAS
MANITOBA
VANCOUVER
CALGARY
PRINCE ALBERT
SEATTLE
SASKATOON
LETHBRIDGE
REGINA
GREAT FALLS
WINNIPEG
MINOT
U. S. A.
FARGO
BISMARK
MINNEAPOLIS
LEGEND
Scale of Miles Approx. 400 Mis.
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200
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400
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110
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"THE ALASKA HIGHWAY AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION"

AN ADDRESS BY

JOHN R. MACNICOL, M.P.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, November 12, 1942

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: As was the case last Thursday, so is it to-day, that our guest-speaker needs no introduction to a Toronto audience. He began his career as a school teacher expounding the rudiments to children in Algoma District and Grey County. Commerce and finance beckoned and he came to Toronto and joined the staff of the Dominion Radiator Company Limited, where he remained for some twenty years, and then retired into active life.

He has represented the Riding of Davenport (Toronto) in the House of Commons continuously since 1930, and, during the recesses of the House, he has made it his chief business, by means of travel and personal investigation, to learn more about this great Dominion and its people and its resources. It is the country's natural resources that latterly have claimed his especial attention, and, in particular, the natural resources of the great Northwest, that vast expanse of unknown country lying north of a line drawn from Winnipeg to Edmonton across to the Rockies, the country of the Lakes—Great Bear, Great Slave, Athabasca—the country of the great Rivers—Saskatchewan, Mackenzie, Coppermine. This has been his interest; this has been his study.

We recall that in 1937 he addressed this Club on the subject of *The Great Lakes Diversion*, commonly referred to as the *Chicago Drainage Canal.* Since then he has gone far afield. In the last three years he has travelled 30,000 miles in Canada by rail, by boat, and often by canoe with a solitary Indian as his guide and companion. He has been there; he has made his own investigations; he knows. He has a great story to tell and it will be some relief to our minds in these troublous times to think of these things as part of the heritage which is Canada. His knowledge and experience have made him a practical idealist, and his reputation as a practical idealist has brought him an appointment as a member of the Parliamentary Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Committee.

He was Joint Chairman of the Conservative Convention in 1938. He was once a politician. He is now a statesman. Gentleman, I have much pleasure in asking my friend, John R. MacNicol, M.P., to address us. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN R. MACNICOL, M.P.: Mr. President and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I am indeed grateful for the very flattering introduction given to me by your Chairman and I value very much the high honour conferred upon me to-day of addressing this Club.

Now, if you will permit me to omit any further preliminary amenities, I will proceed.

To-day I shall foundation my remarks, as the preachers do, on a Biblical text: "The Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof". Now, if I may interpret "fulness" to mean the richness of the material resources, then I can say that God did love Canada in the creation of the world, because He endowed her with incomparable riches and vast resources and He loves her to-day and during the recent generations because He has peopled Canada with a strong and vigorous people to develop and protect these vast natural resources.

First I would ask you to take a look at your maps which I have prepared so you may the more easily follow what I have to say, for I, myself, would find it difficult to follow a speech pertaining to geography if I didn't thoroughly know the country. You will observe in the northwest corner of the map the situation of Alaska and Fairbanks which is the central city and the centre of the territory highway system. You will notice the 121st Meridian, the boundary line between Canada and the United States, more especially between Alaska itself and our own Yukon.

The broad line represents the outline of the Alaska Highway from Fairbanks in Alaska to Dawson Creek, B.C. You will observe the location of the airports along the Alaska Highway, because the Alaska Highway itself was laid out to contact the airports. Notice White Horse, in the Yukon, further down, Fort Nelson, Fort St. John and Dawson Creek.

Observe at the left the location of Prince George on the railway to Prince Rupert. To the east of the main highway you will observe Fort McMurray, at the junction of the Clearwater and the Athabasca Rivers, the centre of the vast oil sands to which I will refer in my remarks.

Observe the position of Norman on the Mackenzie River. Observe too the dotted line running north from Peave River town, at which point is the only bridge across the river at the moment, towards Providence on the Mackenzie River just after it flows out of Great Slave Lake. The United States Government is building that road, too. It is being built to obviate the delays that occur in crossing Lake Athabasca and Great Slave Lake. I myself was held up some twelve hours on entering lake Athabasca. The lake is shallow and the boats in that part of the country cannot navigate it if a storm were raging at the time. It shows how kindly they are to build two magnificent highways, one 1600 miles long from Dawson Creek to Fairbanks, at least 1200 miles in Canadian territory; and the other 650 miles long, from Peave River to Providence on the Mackenzie River.

Then see at the right the position of Churchill on

Hudson Bay and the position of Edmonton, the focal point for all roads, east of the mountains, to the United States from Canada. West of the mountains see Seattle from which at present there is no direct connection to the Alaska Highway, but there will be if our American friends carry out what they propose to day, that is to extend the roadway north from Prince George.

South of the boundary line, you see the position of St. Paul and Minneapolis. All roads east of the mountains connect with Edmonton and from Edmonton a road runs some 500 odd miles to Dawson Creek and 1,600 miles further to Fairbanks in Alaska.

You might ask what was the origin of the highway. That invites a description of Alaska itself. Alaska is that great peninsula that extends off the northwest corner of North America, some six to seven hundred miles west of the 141st Meridian, the boundary, and generally situated within the 60th and 70th parallels of north latitude and extends to a little less than a hundred miles from the coast of Asia.

Off the southwest corner of Alaska another peninsula projects into the Pacific Ocean, the Aleutian Peninsula, and off that peninsula is a chain of islands, the Aleutians, that project toward Japan for another 1,500 miles.

Unless there were a roadway to Alaska, our American cousins would have difficulty, because from the 141st Meridian to the 49th Parallel, the International boundary, is a distance of about 2,000 miles of Canadian territory and from Seattle, in the State of Washington, to Seward, one of the ports on the south coast of Alaska, it is a distance of about 2,000 miles by sea. Seward is connected with Fairbanks by a railway, the distance being 450 miles. From Valdez, a nearby ocean port, a motor highway connects with Fairbanks. Thus, if the Americans had a roadway east of the mountains they would have a thoroughly protected inland route to their own Alaska, so they asked Canada for the right to build the Alaska Highway.

We have in the United States the best neighbours of any country in the world, and we gladly gave them the right. The road will belong to us after the war.

Just a word about the road. It is a military road. During the war it is wholly controlled by our American cousins on its course through Canadian territory from Fort St. John to the international boundary, the 141st Meridian. The importance of this road during the war is readily observed. It allows a protected inland route all the way from the United States to its dependency, Alaska, for promoting the war against Japan. It is an ideal route to transport supplies and troops without danger, instead of by the sea, where they are subject to torpedoing by the Jap submarines.

In the event of the Japs attacking Siberia, it would be a major munitions route for supplies from the United States to Alaska and over to Siberia. It is a military route at present, but after the war it will be a vast route of immigration into our own great northwest containing a million square miles or more, north of the 55th parallel, filled to overflowing with incomparable resources. And with the completion of the other roadway now building, from Peace River to Providence on the Mackenzie River, you can see at a glance how these roads would assist in opening up that great country after the war.

The Alaska Highway permits the opening up and rolling back of the business frontier to beyond Fort Nelson, one of our airports. That will be a great business incentive for our Western Provinces, and it will mean prosperity to the Eastern Provinces, as well.

The right-of-way of the Alaska Highway is very wide. I don't think I should tell the width. I can tell all the other figures. The United States engineers let nothing stop or obstruct them. They went through anything and everything to make the straightest possible road they could and in my judgment, having been over a good distance of it, it is, considering the natural difficulties, incredibly straight. It is wide to allow vision for fast motor traffic. I travelled fast myself—and the width of the road gives ample vision. The centre part of the roadway is 24 feet. It is very substantially constructed to carry the heaviest possible machines of every description at a swift rate of speed.

On each side of the centre 24 feet there is a six foot shoulder, also substantially constructed, so if any machine is more than 24 feet wide, it will have another 12 feet to run on. Beyond that is a wide easy crowning off to the drainage ditches, and past the drainage there is still a wide space on each side of the fences that mark the right of way.

Great bull-dozers just bowled over trees as if they were pipe stems and vast sized boulders were bowled off the roadway as if they were mere pebbles. These machines were followed up by great mechanized ploughs, scarifiers, scrapers, grading machines, and vast revolving hammers that pounded down the centre of the road, to make it a mighty fine fast highway, built especially so military machines can go rapidly from any place in the United States to Alaska for the defence of that country.

I want to compliment the United States engineers, not only for their courtesy—they were courtesy personified to any who asked them questions—they were a credit to their universities and training schools like West Point, Staunton, Harvard, and other great schools—they have done a wonderful job in less than eight months' time.

Most folk have read of the eight wonders of the ancient world, the Great Wall of China, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Pyramids of Egypt, etc., but after having been over that road, a good portion of it, and observing the stupendous difficulties the engineers overcame, of high mountains rolled down, of valleys filled in, and muskegs overcome as though they weren't there at all, hundreds of miles of forest cleared off, and all in eight months' time—the longest, straightest, widest road I know of, I call it the Ninth Wonder of the World. It is a tribute to the people who built it, and to the schools that trained the men who engineered it.

I was greatly pleased to hear the United States officials—all of them very courteous men, the personification of courteousness—praise their own contractors and engineers, but they were also loud in praise of those who came from Toronto. I am glad to tell you some of the contractors up there were Toronto contractors. The Dufferin Construction Company, McNamara, Tomlinson, Jupp—all of these construction companies have done a marvellously fine job. They are a credit to themselves. Mr. R. Melville Smith, whom many of you know is the Deputy Minister of our Ontario Department of Highways, has done a marvellous job in connection with the Alaska Highway. I heard him particularly praised for his work and assistance.

You have read that the road started at Fort St. John. That was really the jumping-off place, but our American cousins found they had to start at Dawson Creek fifty miles south of Fort St. John because the roadway south of Fort St. John was almost impassable. I tried to motor over it a year ago last summer, but found it too difficult. This year the American engineers made it passable, and in addition they had to build a new roadway from Dawson Creek to Fort St. John.

Now, perhaps that is enough to say about the Alaska Highway. Next year, they tell me, it is to be asphalted on the centre 24 feet—if Canada can supply the asphalt to do it with—and that is one thing I am particularly interested in trying to bring about, and that brings me to the subject of oil.

OIL

If I say anything about oil I hope no one will say I am interested in any oil company. I am not. I retired from business years ago. My only interest is Canada. I am going to do my best to bring about the production of oil in a big way up in that country—if it is there and I believe it is.

What is the oil situation in the world to-day? When the war broke out the Allies possessed all the oil in the East Indies—approximately 100,000,000 barrels of production a year in Java, Borneo, Sumatra, Burma, and the other island of the East. We lost all that. The Japanese, who only had a production of 2,500,000 barrels per year, took the East India oil fields from us. We will get them back, but have lost them temporarily, and to-day the British Armies in the Far East have to be supplied with oil shipped from the United States or from the western part of Asia, from Iraq, Iran and Bahrein. Are we going to retain control of the Western Asia oil fields? I hope so, I believe so. The Germans, however, have started in that direction, as you know. They have got to the Caucasus and they have taken from the Russians one-third of the Caucasus production, approximately 70,000,000 barrels a year, leaving the Russians about 140,000,000 barrels to themselves. If they are able to take the rest of the Caucasus, we might have great difficulty holding Iraq, Iran and Bahrein oil. Suppose we lost that, what would the Empire have left? We would have the production of a few million barrels, about 6,000,000 in Egypt, and about 20,000,000 in Trinidad, and about 12,000,000 a year in Canada, the latter principally from the Turner Valley.

It is true our American cousins have and do produce the largest supply of oil, yearly, in the world. They produce 1,350,000,000 barrels of oil a year and would supply us too. We could get some from Peru and Venezuela, that together produce about 200,000,000 barrels a year. But in the name of common sense, why go outside of Canada, if we have, as the expert engineers of the United States and Canada tell us we have in the Athabasca oil-sand area, five times as much as the other known oil resources of the world, not less than 100,000,000,000 barrels, and up to 250,000,000,000 barrels of oil. A little, approximately 600 barrels per day, have been produced from the oil sands on the Athabasca River, during the past summer.

I hold in my hand a piece of oil sand. Every little particle of sand is surrounded by a film of oil and from every cubic yard of that sand a barrel of oil can be extracted and that oil sand area covers 10,000 square miles, not all as rich as where I got this—at Fort McMurray—but in the aggregate there is said to be more oil there than in all the rest of the world combined, several times over.

It is easily extracted from the sand. The first thing they do is to take off the overtop, ten feet or more of dirt, which is easily removed by steam shovels. They blast the sand, the same as they blast any other mine, and the sands are conveyed by belt into the mill. There the oil is removed by passing the sand through long horizontal revolving cylindrical steel tanks containing 180 degrees hot water which disintegrates the sand. The fluid then passes to flotation tanks in which the sand falls to the bottom and the oil floats to the top. Within twenty minutes the oil is fully extracted and on its way to the refinery. That is pretty fast work.

At Fort McMurray the oil sand is 40 feet thick, and every cubic yard represents a barrel of oil and it is apparently inexhaustible. As I said, a small mill at McMurray produces up to 600 barrels per day, but we should be producing oil in a big way. I brought the matter up in Parliament two years ago and endeavoured to persuade the authorities to get behind any responsible producers, it matters not whom—but for goodness' sake, let us get on with producing oil when oil is so badly needed. Look at the situation in Canada. We have an Oil Controller. I have a sympathetic feeling toward the Oil Controller—he has a very hard job. I wouldn't want it at all. But is it oil control we need in Canada, or is it oil production?

Many within the sound of my voice are being compelled to remove their domestic heating-plant oil burners, at a great expense and most large buildings are removing them. There are, I am told, 50,000 or more oil burners in Canada—and the public is being compelled to remove them at an expense of perhaps $25,000,000. That is a huge expense to put the Canadian people to, to remove domestic oil equipment. If the country has the oil, as our geologists say we have, and there is ample evidence of it, why not produce oil? If $25,000,000 had been spent in erecting oil mills on the Peace and Athabasca Rivers it would have produced not only all the oil Canada requires for domestic heating equipment, but millions of barrels to fight the war with.

We want oil production and I am going to advocate, as strongly as I can, that we appoint an Oil Producer, and clothe him with whatever power is required to erect whatever mills are required to produce oil in whatever quantities are required to take care of our oil requirements. If the oil is there why shouldn't we be producing it? Fancy—10,000 square miles, most of it highly impregnated with oil. If you hold a piece of oil sand in your fingers a moment or two your fingers become oily. One barrel from every cubic yard, and you can take it out in minutes of time.

I would say, that to start with, we erect one 10,000 barrel per day mill. The Government are erecting all sorts of plants. Why can't we do the very same thing with oil and get on with the business and save the country the distress it is in now for want of oil. There is lots of oil in the United States, but they can't get the transportation equipment to bring it here, hence our shortage. But we could erect an oil mill on the Athabasca and pump the crude oil out to Edmonton. That would only require a short pipe-line. In the United States they have pipelines from 1,400 to 1,500 miles long. We could easily pump it the 250 miles to Edmonton, or perhaps the 450 miles to Calgary. With additional mills perhaps we could run one line to Churchill and convey it in tankers to Moosonee, the head of steel, on James Bay, and thence to refineries in Toronto, for eastern distribution.

The point is this: Canada has the oil. If a strong business man were appointed to produce it he could produce it alright. I have in these bottles samples of the gasoline and of the Diesel oil made from the oil sands. The miners in Yellow Knife and Goldfields told me there is no better oil in the world.

Now, over in Peace river area, there is a lot of oil too—so I am told. I am not authority enough to know whether it is actually there or not. I had read a great deal about the flaming gas fires on the Peace river that have been burning for the past 25 years from oil and gas that shoot up around the casings of the oil wells that were drilled there some 25 years ago. So I visited that area too to see for myself. I was amazed to find how many wells are capped. What we want is uncapped wells and oil out of them. It was a weird sight to see on both sides of the Peace river flames shooting as high as 50 feet in the air, coming from around the casings.

An American colonel told me they plan to asphalt the Alaska Highway next year. I suggested to him that he get asphalt at the junction of the Athabasca and the Clearwater Rivers at Fort McMurray, and perhaps on the Peace, and I am glad to say they are making investigations. We have been asleep at the switch in not developing those oil fields.

Here is a sample of almost pure asphalt (sample shown by Mr. MacNicol) that I got at what is called MacArthur Well No. 2 on the Peace. It has to be heated with a torch to melt it. Our American cousins want 1½ to 2 million barrels of asphalt next summer to hard-surface the road from Fort St. John to Fairbanks. Why shouldn't we produce the asphalt for them, if we can? I am going to advocate that as strongly as I can.

A local engineer in Peace River town, Mr. H. A. George, a former Hudson Bay factor, told me there is a lot of oil on the Peace. I can only say I saw the flames shooting up 50 feet into the air, and oil running into Peace river. The gas is burning and has been burning for some 25 years.

Now, I see my time is getting along and I think perhaps I should interest you in one or two stories connected with the Alaska Highway. A lot of United States soldiers, there, were coloured troops and the Indians were amazed at the coloured troops. You would see them looking at them as, if mystified. I didn't ask an Indian myself, but another gentleman did, "What do you think of them? How do you like them?" His answer was, "Black white men". He couldn't describe them any other way.

At Fort McMurray a coloured military policeman walked down the street swinging his baton and with buttons polished, and all dolled up. He had a smile of satisfaction. He was six feet tall. An Indian on the sidewalk thought he would take a rise out of him, and he said, referring to his colour, "How you like it up here, Midnight?" And he recovered himself, the policeman said, referring to the Indian's colour also, "Oh, I like it pretty well, Half Past Eleven".

A boy from Texas writing home to his mother told her about the mosquitoes on the Alaska Highway. They are big ones. I had to wear a helmet all the time myself. You almost have to use machine-guns to keep them away. He wrote to his mother, "The mosquitoes are so big up here I can hardly describe them. I am acting on the ground crew on the airfield and the other day I saw what I thought was a plane landing on the field and rushed out to service it and after I had pumped 87 gallons of gasoline into what I thought was an airplane, I found out it was a mosquito."

Somebody asks how old the oil sands are. They go back to the beginning of time. I can best tell their geologic age by an incident that occurred at Drumheller. The earth at Drumheller is turned upside down. One sees all kinds of relics of petrified wood and petrified dinosaur bones and so on, in that coal mining area. I was in a coal mine office and a tall, stately man said, "Mr. MacNicol, I am going to give you a piece of petrified wood." (I am going to give it to the President in a minute.) He said, "Would you believe it that piece of petrified wood is 60,000,000 years old." That is a lot of years. I stood back in order to accord such great age due respect. Then the boy in the office broke right into the conversation and said, "Mr. MacNicol would you like to know exactly how old that piece of petrified wood is?"

I was knocked out completely. He paused a minute and said, "To be exact, it is 60,000,003 years and 18 days old, because when I came here three years and 18 days ago, Mr. 'X' told me it was 60,000,000 years old".

I see my time is about up. I haven't had an opportunity at all to more than refer to the vast resources north of 55. I motored west to Fort St. John, about eighty miles. At Bull Head Mountain it is said there are 600,000,000 tons of the finest coal in the world. It is right alongside the Peace River. I hope after the war is over, and perhaps our good friends, the Americans, may do it while they are here—they have both the men and the money to do it—we will be able to project a railroad west from Fort St. John past Bull Mountain coal and on right through the mountains. A good roadway should be projected through the mountains to the coast now because if the Japs attack the Pacific Coast how could we go from the Peace River area to the support of Prince Rupert? There isn't a roadway through the mountains in that latitude to-day.

I am going to advocate that a roadway be built through the mountains to connect up with the roadway to Prince Rupert from Prince George, and I recommend also that a road go west from Hines creek, the end of steel on the north side of the Peace river, to connect with the Alaska Highway. On the south side of the Peace river, Dawson Creek is the end of steel. I have no doubt that in due course, all these roads will be connected.

After the war these roads will open up hundreds of miles of most arable land for cultivation, land that grows vegetables of every description in the greatest abundance, and fruit—not so much fruit—vegetables and grain and all sorts of flowers. It is a wonderful country and after the war we should settle some of our farming soldier men up there. After this war, the men who come back from overseas must not be asked to stand for what the boys who came back from the last war stood for during the last depression. It was unworthy to have men standing on street corners begging for jobs in a country filled to overflowing, figuratively speaking, with milk and honey. There are thousands of opportunities to place men. From long experience with men I can see 500,000 jobs staring us in the face up there, north of the 55th parallel. After the war we have got to put men to work opening up the country, providing settlements, and opening up vast resources for development.

Some say, let us win the war first. Well, we are going to win the war. I am a firm believer in God, and every time I think of Dunkirk I think of an occasion on which I went over to France. The sea was very rough, I was sure the world was coming to an end. I thought the ship couldn't possibly get through the storm. It was a terrific storm and everybody on board was sick, everybody was worse than sick. But at Dunkirk for five days that sea was calm. That was a miracle. God performed that miracle, just the same as He performed a miracle when He led the children of Israel through the Red Sea, just the same as He performed a miracle when He separated the waters of the Jordan so Joshua could cross into the Promised Land. Dunkirk was a miracle.

Those braggarts, Mussolini, Tojo and Hitler say they will destroy St. Paul's Cathedral. Well, every time I go to London I visit St. Paul's Cathedral to see the tomb of Nelson, and I never forget to read Nelson's prayer, but it is not Nelson's prayer I am now going to repeat in closing, but a verse about his grave in St. Paul's:—

O, Little Land of England,
O, Mother of hearts too brave,
Men say the trust will pass from thee
Who guardeth Nelson's grave;
Aye, but these braggarts shall learn,
Who hold the world in fee,
That the sea is God's, God made it,
But England shall keep it free.

After the war, when our men return, we must provide them with work. So I say in conclusion, we should be thinking of after the war, as well as the war itself. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Mr. MacNicol, you started your eloquent address this afternoon with a Biblical quotation, "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof". I am going to add something to that and say, "He shall have dominion also from Sea to Sea and from the river unto the ends of the Earth".

You have given us an amazing picture this afternoon, Sir, a picture that will rest long in our memories. You have drawn two pictures; one of the wonderful highway, the breadth of which you didn't feel disposed to reveal to us, but which you described in such a way that we can probably estimate something of that breadth, because you described the middle section as being 24 feet, and you described other things about it that gave us the opportunity of drawing upon our mathematical knowledge and coming to certain definite conclusions. You have drawn also an amazing picture of the wealth of oil that is in our Canadian sands, there for the purpose of the taking. It seems also to me, Sir, and you are a believer in Providence as also am I, that the fact that Canada and the United States are so closely related, that they are so friendly, that the United States is permitted, may I say, to run a 1600 mile roadway through the midst of Canada, and that there is so close to that roadway such an amazing and abundant supply of oil and asphalt to surface that road, is not mere chance. There is Divine Providence in that, as you and I, Sir, believe.

We thank you very much, Mr. MacNicol—Friend John—for coming here this afternoon and giving us this interesting talk.

I read a few days ago this: "I go about the country a deal and talk with people of all kinds, but I can never cease to be fascinated by the expression of almost physical pain, as of a slug beneath the salt, that comes over the faces I see before me when I suggest that their owners should think about the affairs of their country for themselves, study the actions of their member and the party to which he belongs, discuss these with others, set a ball rolling and do something."

You have given us the incentive, Sir, this afternoon, to do something, and, before I close my remarks I want to make some reference to this little trophy you have so very kindly presented to me personally. This is supposed to be 60,000,003 years and eighteen days old, but that, Sir, was about five months ago, because I think it is only about six months since Parliament recessed.

We thank you, Sir, for this instructive and illuminating address and we hope that you will be with us as a member of the Club when we next meet, which is next Thursday. (Applause.)

The meeting is adjourned.

"THE END OF THE BEGINNING"

AN ADDRESS BY

PERCY JAMES PHILIP.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, November 19, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: If a guest-speaker who comes to us a second time needs no introduction, one who comes a third time might reasonably be asked to introduce the Chairman.

Mr. Percy James Philip addressed this Club on the 21st of November, 1940, and again on the 23rd of October, 1941, so that his address to-day is the third in less than two years. Either we like him or he likes us. I venture to say that the liking is rather mutual.

Born in Scotland and a son of the Manse, Mr. Philip received his scholastic education and his introduction to literary work in England. He lived for twenty-four years in France, during twenty of which he was Paris correspondent of the *New York Times,* and a little over two years ago he came to Ottawa to interpret the Canadian view through the columns of that same well and widely known and friendly journal.

Mr. Philip began his first address with the flat statement that he was sure that we would win the war. At that time France had fallen but our armies were driving westward along the Libyan Coast, past Bardia and Tobruk, towards Bengasi and Tripoli. His address was not pessimistic but was a very realistic description of conditions calling for an all-out effort on the part of all the people. He began his second address by reaffirming his statement that we could win the war, despite the condition then prevailing, that Hitler held all Europe.

His comprehensive view, his keen analysis, his balanced judgment, and his reasonable deductions as applied to present conditions, when our armies are again driving westward along the Libyan Coast towards Bengasi and Tripoli, and are driving eastward, as well, through Algeria, towards that same Bengasi and that same Tripoli, and our recent victories at sea and in the air are matters of continuing jubilation, are awaited with anticipation.

Gentlemen, I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Percy James Philip, the subject of whose address is "The End of the Beginning". (Applause.)

MR. PERCY JAMES PHILIP: Mr. President and Gentlemen: This is the third year in succession that you have done me the honor of inviting me to speak to you and it is with the keenest pleasure in the compliment that I have returned to make my now annual report on the war situation. The first time that I came, on November 21st, 1940, I was newly arrived from France and the tale I had to tell was a grim one. I had seen a great country overwhelmed and crushed by the weight of the Nazi war machine because it was physically, spiritually and politically unequal to the terrible test to which it had been subjected. It was not alone to blame. The other democracies were equally at fault because they were not present in the battle in fulfilment of those promises they made so lavishly at the end of the last war and in the years between, that they would always be ready to help resist aggression.

In Britain at this time two years ago we had refused to surrender and had beaten back the invader. The battle in the air had been hard and perilous but we had won. In revenge the Luftwaffe was pounding at the heart of the Empire trying to break the spirit of our people by bombing us until we cried for mercy.

We didn't. We put out the fires and buried our dead, rebuilt some of our two million destroyed homes, and went on. As an American friend of mine said recently in a public speech Britain in these days was armed with little more than her courage but she went on. I am glad to remember now that the message I brought you was one of confidence. I began that first speech with the words: "I am sure we can win this war". And if I added a warning that it would be a long grim business and that no one should take it for granted that we would win it was that I might hearten you in the right way, stiffen your resistance and stir you to even greater effort.

Last year when I spoke to you on October 23rd I repeated that statement "We can win this war" but again I added the same warning, stressing the gravity of the situation in the title I had chosen: "Hitler Holds All Europe". Even then it was only dimly far away that we could see the future shaping. It was being forged in British and Canadian factories. It was being safeguarded by our seamen of both services who have kept the white and the red ensigns flying from Murmansk to the Horn. It was being assured by the steady building up of that great Empire Air Force that is now so mercilessly grinding down the Nazi power, shattering that arrogant advantage it had during most of these two first years.

But we still had not done enough to warrant confidence. Russia had been attacked in June of that year and had lost much ground and many men. Even the most optimistic could not be sure that the Red armies and the Red leaders would hold. The United States was giving us Lend Lease aid but there was no certainty that the President and those who had been with us in heart from the beginning of the conflict would be able to bring their people to see their danger and join us. Pearl Harbor with its murderous treachery and its shattering awakening of a nation asleep lay seven weeks ahead. I doubt if we would have felt encouraged or discouraged if we had known the disasters that lay in store for us in the Pacific at Hong Kong and Singapore and Burma—that we met when they came still unafraid.

All that we could count on with certainty was our own resolution, our own courage and our own determination to work and fight without faltering, patiently, untiringly, unboastingly as in the manner of our people, and I closed my address to you on that occasion with these words: "Whether or not we win depends on ourselves and on nobody else. May I hope that if you ask me to speak to you again, a year from now I shall be able to give you a more cheerful message, to tell you that we are winning. And even if we have not reached that turning point, let us keep on saying to ourselves "We can win" and let us keep on fighting.

Well, Gentlemen, we have come through another year and we are still fighting. We are doing more than that. Without departing from my usual caution I feel that the time has at last come when I may safely change that formula "We can win" and offer you the more assured one: "We will win—we are winning". We have reached in Mr. Churchill's phrase "the end of the beginning". In this past month, since the last full moon over Egypt, our 8th Army has smashed the German and Italian forces of Rommell as terribly as any army has ever been smashed and routed. We have not just rolled the enemy back across the Libyan desert we have destroyed his carefully amassed fighting power. We have broken one of those greedy claws which the Nazis were stretching out along the African coast towards India and their allies the Japanese while the stubborn Russians have battered and blunted the other which was seeking its way through Stalingrad and the Caucasus towards the same goal. Hitler's dream of a "drang nach Oosten" has been broken like that of his predecessor Kaiser Wilhelm and in this case as in the other it seems likely to be for us the end of the beginning and for him the beginning of the end.

I do not wish to claim to have appeared in the roll of a prophet but in that last speech from which I have already quoted I tried to lighten the gloom by dreaming that, with at least sufficient striking power, we would launch a campaign which would drive the Germans and Italians out of Libya and win the French in Algeria and

Morocco to our side. It was perhaps a dream then, a dream that came near realization in January—that was shattered in June when Rommel thrust us back and back into Egypt and even gallant Tobruk fell into his hands.

What a lot of criticism we had to take at that time of British Ministers, of British Commanders and of British soldiers. We had to suffer cheap jibes as well as reverses and the grevious loss of precious lives. But we stood at El Alamein, we weren't beaten. We stood and hit back. We held Egypt and by God, gentlemen, that dream of a year ago is to-day a reality, a tremendous reality. Let us give just praise to Churchill and all the others who after the reverse of June went on undiscouraged rebuilding that old 8th Army, plodding ahead with their plan, taking a gamble but making it a safe one because they were gambling on the courage and capacity of these veteran desert fighters supplied as they had never before been supplied with tanks and guns and planes. Thanks to that foresight and determination we have come through the worst danger that has threatened us throughout this year. We have won a great victory as vital as has ever been won in the history of battles.

It is good to recall these things and during these weeks of great and satisfying events I have found myself slipping into a state of contentment and easy optimism that was extremely pleasant—like those exquisite minutes when pain passes and one imagines himself well again. But I have been practising realistic journalism too long to be deceived that way. We have won a victory—yes—the first of this war on land. But do not let us for a moment imagine that the danger is past. All this past week Hitler has been rushing troops into Tunisia, he has gobbled up the rest of France, he has swung his battle front from the Russian steppes to the shores of the Mediterranean. He may attempt the direct road through Turkey. Many more great battles will have to be fought, great efforts made, great hardships endured before we rid the world of this evil which has encompassed so many peoples and threatened us all.

We have not yet won the war—let us keep that clearly in mind. Hitler still holds all Europe—as firmly as he did at this time last year. He must be dislodged. The Americans and Australians have been giving the Japanese rough handling at Guadalcanal and New Guinea but they still hold the western Pacific, South-eastern Asia and vast portions of China. They are not beaten. Both they and the Germans will fight like hell-cats to hold what they have won and to defend their own. We are only at the end of the beginning. We must keep on fighting. We must keep on working and, perhaps as important as any, we must keep on thinking and thinking rightly.

I am not going to try to-day to prophesy the future course of the fighting. But I would like to make this observation. These battles of Egypt and Stalingrad and the American naval victories at Midway, the Coral sea and Guadalcanal are only single events in this vast interlocked war which began in Poland and France and Norway and is being fought all over the world in Europe, in Africa, in Asia and the South Seas—which is being fought in the factories of the United States and Britain and Canada as much as on the battle-fields. No one country is winning this war for the others. We have pooled our resources and we must pool the credit. Let us take the wide view and for God's sake don't let us quarrel about who saved who and who fought most or best.

It might be fairly claimed that during these three years the most essential single contribution to that final victory which we are beginning to see shaping ahead, has been the British Navy, to which Canada has added no small measure of strength. Its latest great accomplishment along with the United States ships has been the safe transport and delivery with all their equipment of that strong force which is getting down to the task of clearing the south shore of the Mediterranean so that we shall have a far larger base to work from than the British Isles provide. To be able to strike at the soft underside of Europe we had to have North Africa and it is the Navy which has given it to us. But we cannot give the Navy all the credit any more than we can give it to the Russians at Stalingrad or the 8th Army or the American marines or the Canadian bombers. We must get it into our heads—all our heads—that we are a team and that it will take all of us together to win these two tremendous wars in which we are engaged.

And before I leave this subject of who is winning and who has lost, I feel that you will expect me to say something about the French in North Africa and the French in general. For myself I am willing to welcome help from whatever side it comes. But I, and I think everyone, was glad to have President Roosevelt's assurance on Tuesday that the arrangement that had been made in Algiers with Admiral Darlan was a temporary measure made necessary by war circumstances. I shall add this that it will be, in my opinion, a grave political error on our part to countenance in any way the setting in French Africa of an authority, acting as a French Government which is not in accord with the political ideas and aspirations of the French people, which is directed by men stained by past associations and is not in full agreement with the war aims of all the United Nations. I have never ceased to believe in the French people of all classes—and I have made no secret of my opinion—even when many were skeptical. There has never been more than a tiny fraction of one per cent. which was ever pro-Nazi, even when the others were not especial pro-British, pro-American or pro-Russian. They were and are always pro-French and I don't think any of us can blame them. We are a bit that way ourselves. Thousands of them have given proof of their loyalty to their country and the cause for which we fight by the sacrifice of their lives and their organized resistance movement which numbers millions of all parties and recognizes General de Gaulle as its head is ready to help us the moment we are ready to help them. Until then they are powerless, but it seems to me an elemental part of wisdom and honesty that we should neither countenance nor encourage any movement of which they would disapprove. France must again be our battlefield if we are ever to get at close contact with the enemy. To her sufferings that new one will be added. But the great mass of the people are ready to take it and to help us. They are prepared through their resistance organization to rise the moment we land and fight with home-made arms and sticks until we can give them guns and grenades. We must not disappoint them. We must not risk estranging them by any political opportunism or intrigue. They have accepted de Gaulle as their leader until their country is restored and a new constitution made. We must be loyal to those who have been loyal to us.

There is one more thing about the future fighting which I think to be very important; that is our growing strength in the air to which Canada has contributed so largely. I am one of those who believe firmly that our night and day bombing raids on German and Italian ports and factories and communications are doing more to weaken the enemy's resistance than any other form of "second front" that we can as yet establish. Our people in Britain did not give up under the assault of the Luftwaffe, but I am disclosing no secret when I say that they were not very far from it. If the Nazis had been able to keep up for one or two months longer that complete dislocation of normal life, the destruction of water mains and transport systems and power plants and bridges and telegraph and telephone lines, of factories and streets and ships they might have paralyzed our power to produce and to fight, for that kind of destruction is far more effective than the killing of a few thousand people. But they couldn't keep it up. We can. We are bombing them five and six times as hard as they ever bombed us and with the men trained here in Canada and more and more men and machines pouring out from the United States we can and will pound at them until they cry for mercy. I do not claim that you can win this kind of war with an air force alone—just as you cannot win it with an army or a navy alone—but this is equally sure that you cannot win without it and those airmen who keep pounding Genoa and Hamburg and Bremen and Cologne are doing just as much as any troops anywhere to break the Nazis.

Did you read Hitler's speech ten days ago. It is the speech of a man who knows he is losing—who knows that his armies and his people are softening. It will take more time. It will take continuous effort, hard fighting and bitter sacrifice of human lives. We must expect soon another avalanche, like Ludendorff's outburst in March, 1918. But it is we who are now forcing the pace, who have taken the offensive with the power to keep it up and who go on until the Germans crack as they cracked in November, 1918.

There is one thing more. A great many people are already talking glibly about what must be done after the war—not studying the problem, but just talking glibly. That is why I added to the list of things that must be done—thinking, and thinking rightly. It is very important. The future depends on it as much as on the outcome of any battle. And I confess that I have been somewhat perturbed by the plans and prophesies which some people are making about this new world "safe for democracy" and all that kind of thing in which without effort, without discipline, without sacrifice there will be no more war—only order and justice and plenty for everybody equitably distributed. I hope that these people are right—that it is as easy as all that—that they will be able to deliver and are not just raising false hopes. But I have noticed that they are in many cases the same people, and the same kind of people who used to say that this war would not happen, that there was no need to spend money on armaments, who seemed to have a chlidlike faith in the power of words and wishful thinking and in a few formulae of government to make this world a second Eden. Again I say that I hope that they are right about what will happen after the war. But I am a realist. I can't help it. I was brought up that way and became confirmed in the habit as I reported through thirty years how great ideals had gone wrong under the acid test of application.

And so on this day of relative rejoicing when we have changed our formula from "We can win the war" into "We are winning," I want to submit to you what I consider to be the real foundation stone of our success, the reason why we are undefeated, and to offer it now that it has been tested as the foundation stone of the future. I especially wish to do so because there are so many people with short memories who are inclined to minimize what we have done, to point to the errors we have made, to our apparent failures, to be critical of the British way of doing things and of our whole much abused Empire which these smart critics think should be run quite differently—that they could run much more successfully.

In doing this I have no political axe to grind. I am just a reporter who tries to get things right. I might even boast that I have no national axe to grind—for although I was born a Scotsman and love my country, which is very pretty except where it has been made hideous, and very pleasant except when it is very wet, I had some education in England and know the great merits of courage and humor and tolerance and good manners of these people both peer and commoner. I lived 24 years in France and hold the French in affection for their humanity, in esteem for their intelligence and in admiration for their artistry. I have worked over 20 years for the greatest of all American newspapers and many of my best friends are Americans. Finally I have lived for two years among you Canadians and found here a real home. You have all the elements of these other races and something special of your own—a combination of kindness of heart and hard headed honesty of purpose which is salted by a shrewd attention to your own Canadian interests however much you may dispute among yourselves where these interests lie.

You must believe me then that I am speaking as a reporter, without prejudice of race or political theory when I tell you that I have reached this conclusion that in all this turmoil the greatest contributing factor in the salvation of the world from Nazi domination has been that the British Empire has hung together, has acted as a united force and that the peoples of all its many old and new races have proved themselves men of character and courage. This fact that the whole Empire stood together is the pivotal fact in the whole world situation—it is the whole reason why we are safe to-day in our homes and have come successfully into this more promising stage of the war.

Disunited we would have perished one by one. Don't make any mistake about that. Don't let anybody lead you into that isolationist error. Without your support and that of the other Dominions we in Britain would have failed as France for in our little islands we did not have the resources of men and materials equal to the task. Without Britain what chance had any of you to survive—to keep your independence. It has been by hanging together, working together, fighting together, that we have come through, and I shall add this for contrast between where we are and where we might have been. Without those two minute specks of Empire, Malta and Gibraltar—which some people wanted to have us give back to Italy and Spain—what would be the situation of the battle for freedom in the Mediterranean. Without Australia and New Zealand loyal and trained in battle where would the fight be taking place in the Pacific. Without its attachment to the British Crown where would India be? I cannot think that the Congress Party so beloved by some would have protected it from the Japanese. And I cannot believe that from among its mixture of castes and races there would yet have sprung, although it may some day happen, any Chang-Kai-Shek who would have unified it and galvanized it as China has been unified and galvanized.

Giving full credit to all others we can hold up our heads and boast if we are challenged that it has been the unity in liberty of the British Empire that has saved the world. And we have done more than that. We have set an example for the future to all the other disunited nations which perished because their narrow nationalism prevented their union. If there is to be a safe new world after this war, a world in which there will be peace and justice and plenty it is on the model of the British Empire that it must be built. Germany has failed to destroy us. Are we going to let others talk us out of what that great hearted man Jan Smuts, who forty years ago was fighting us to defend the isolated independence of the Boers recently called "This greatest human experiment in political organization, this proudest political structure of the time, this precedent and anticipation of what one hopes may be in store for human society in years to come."

This is not only the ideal of this Commonwealth. It is the essence. It has survived, it has brought the world safely through the tremendous test of these past three years. We have our differences and scraps. We are Scots, English, Canadians, Australians and Afrikanders—all strong individual peoples and stout arguers. We all have our special interests. But we have proved that we can co-operate freely, eagerly in face of a common enemy, for a common ideal, with only this rivalry that each of us wants to do as well as any other. Are we going to let people talk us out of that free union, of that mighty co-operative power for good. I do not think we will. Deep in all of us there was a cheering echo the other day when Mr. Churchill declared frankly: "We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

We have not just come through. We have set an example to the whole world. Hitler holds all Europe just because there was no such spirit of voluntary association between its countries as there is among the countries of the Empire. They were defeated and overrun because they refused to stand together and co-operate for their mutual independence and defence. They have all of them now realized that there can be no liberty without strength and there can be no strength without free union. No country is now rich enough, powerful enough, wise enough to stand alone. If any try it again as they did after the last war we shall have the same drift down the road that leads to weakness, disorder and predatory war. Instead of bowing to these critics who preach a false freedom we can be proud of our Empire which has survived this terrible challenge and emerged stronger from the test, and we can confidently proclaim it as an example which all the rest of the world might profitably follow of how to organize itself for peace and the defence of true human liberty. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Squadron Leader Stuart C. Parker is here. He is with us on his embarkation leave. When Mr. Philip was here with us two years ago —not quite two years ago—it was Squadron Leader Parker, then the Right Reverend Dr. Stuart C. Parker, who was called upon to thank the speaker for his address. I am going to ask Squadron Leader Parker to speak to the motion of thanks, but before doing so I should like to extend an invitation to Mr. Philip, on behalf of the Speakers' Committee of The Empire Club, to be with us probably in less than a year again, as he has already expressed his willingness to be. (Applause.)

SQUADRON LEADER STUART C. PARKER: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: There is a variety of technique in proposing a vote of thanks to a speaker. Some do so by underlining, painstakingly and boringly, the points which the speaker has made. That, in the case of Mr. Philip, with his clarity of expression and his vividness of phraseology and his direct simplicity of language would be a frank impertinence.

There are other proposers of votes of thanks whose technique involves the expounding of their own opinions about the matters which have been raised. That, too, would be an impertinence, as I think you will agree. This war, like all great public commotions and movements, has drawn forth a perfect horde of commentators and I am afraid that on reading or listening to the opinions of most of them the average intelligent man of some education, has it borne in upon him that in the last resort they don't know any more than he himself knows, nor do they gather it from any source other than the source open to himself, which is the press. So I think you will agree that for me to tell you my opinions about the things Mr. Philip has talked about would be in The Empire Club, here and at this late hour, the most unpardonable of the unpardonable sins.

It is in fact very difficult to thank Mr Philip, except just to say that the address which he has given us to-day is precisely what we would have expected of him. (Applause.) More than that needn't be said.

The great peripatetic evangelist, however, the late John MacNeill, who once was minister for a brief period of Cook's Church in this city, but whose parish was the world, or at least the British Empire, said to me in England during the last war, and apropos of his own peculiar and most engaging way of speaking, "My boy, when you don't know what to say, tell a story." He faithfully followed that out and it gave him an almost unique style among evangelists, so I am going to tell you a story, but even at that, the story is Mr. Philip's. On the last occasion when I had the pleasure of being beside him at an Empire Club meeting he told me a Scotch story which I had never heard before, and I thought that that put him in a position far higher than any other living human being, because it was my fond impression that I had heard every Scotch story that ever was fabricated, but this one was new to me and in his honour, and as a further commendation of him I would like to repeat it to you.

It is of course derogatory to the Scottish race, as all good Scotch stories are. It is a story about a Bishop and Dr. Renison will forgive me I am sure, because he is not that kind of Bishop. It is a story about a very prim and proper Anglican Bishop who was invited to Scotland to the ancestral home of some notable—the MacNab or the

MacIntosh, or some other such—and in whose honour the clan piper played up and down on the lawn outside the dining-room windows after dinner.

An excited clansman in a perfect ecstasy of devotion to the national music, poked the Bishop in the ribs violently and said, "Mon, did ye ever hear music like that before?", and the Bishop adjusted his spectacles and said very clearly, "I shall always look upon it as a signal mark of the Divine Providence that such dreadful noises are not accompanied by an equally dreadful smell."

I think, Mr. Chairman, that with that I may take my seat. Mr. Philip has really proposed his own vote of thanks with my telling of that story. The voice is my voice but the story is Mr. Philip's.

We thank Mr. Philip very much indeed and we are greatly heartened by his own expressed wish that he may be with us here again. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Mr. Philip, you have heard the vote of thanks so ably moved by Squadron Leader Parker and responded to so generously by the audience. I have very much pleasure in conveying that now to you through my Presidential Office.

"WHAT IS THE NAVY DOING?"

An Address By

LIEUT.-COMMANDER WILLIAM STRANGE, R.C.N.V.R.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, November 26, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: The fact that any guest is given platform here more than once is evidence that those who are charged with the responsibility of selection consider that he has ability as a speaker and a message that should be received.

Lieutenant-Commander William Strange, R.C.N.V.R., was our guest in December, last year, when he addressed us on the subject "Into The Blitz".

Born in England and trained for the Navy at Osborne in the Isle of Wight and at Dartmouth, he became a man of parts and experience in the oilfields and swamps of Trinidad, as a salesman in the English Midlands, as a lecturer in English for the Educational Department of Cairo, Egypt, and even as a tramp in the streets of Old London, "not actually starving", as he says, "but yet a little apprehensive about the week after next". If his proportions then were at all comparable to his proportions to-day, he probably looked the situation over and decided that he might fairly take a chance.

His wanderlust spent, he came to Canada in 1929 and engaged in a line of commercial work which used the radio as an advertising medium and William Strange as the advertiser. He cultivated this acquaintance and in 1932 turned to radio and writing as a whole-time effort.

He immediately initiated a series of book reviews by radio, which ran, almost without interruption, for the next five years.

He became a free-lance journalist and a student of world politics, publishing, at the request of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the result of his studies under the caption, "Canada, The Pacific and War".

Lieutenant-Commander Strange is author of the two series "They Shall Not Pass" and "Carry On, Canada", also of the feature programme "Quiet Victory" which won for him the prize awarded by the Institute for Education by Radio for the best North American war effort broadcast in 1941.

He also gave the well-known series of talks under the general heading "Back From Britain".

He has a reputation—that is, a good reputation—as an actor, frequently appearing or, shall I say, being heard, in his own productions.

His book, *Into the Blitz,* is an account of his experiences and observations during a trip to England and the European battle-front, including the Atlantic crossings, and his connection with and sympathy for the merchant seamen impelled him to donate to the Navy League of Canada for these brave men the entire royalties from this book.

This is Navy Week throughout Canada and it is most appropriate, therefore, that our guest should be a man of the Navy. May I say that this fact gives particular pleasure and gratification to us who are engaged in Navy League work, so many of whom we welcome here to-day.

Gentlemen: Lieutenant-Commander William Strange, R.C.N.V.R., who will address us on the subject, "What Is The Navy Doing?". (Applause.)

LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER WILLIAM STRANGE: Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and gentlemen of The Empire Club: This is the second occasion on which you have seen fit to honour me with an invitation to address this gathering. On the former occasion I was able to bring you news from an island; to-day I come to bring you news from the sea.

When I was asked, some time ago, what was likely to be the title of this address, I deliberately chose the question which constitutes the age-old grouch of the Britisher when things go wrong. Very reasonably, the men and women of our Empire have an implicit, I believe indeed an unshakeable faith in the British Navy. This is reasonable, for the Navy had much to do with the winning of our Empire. It is essentially a sailors' Empire, whose component parts are best reached and linked by ships; it has had much to do with the policing of our Empire: it has, for many years, had everything to do with the holding of our Empire.

Safely, confidently, his faith buoyed up by the seas, and protected by walls whose mortar was the salt of the sea and whose unshatterable units were the ships of the British Navy—safely and confidently, tunelessly too, if need be, the veriest yokel in the British countryside could sing at the top of his voice, "Britons never, never, never shall be slaves".

He was right. So long as they held the seas, so long indeed as they exercised a reasonable modicum of control over the sea-lanes, the possibility of serfdom resultant upon conquest by some invader was, to say the least of it, exceedingly remote.

But this fact was only true so long as they maintained a navy. On various occasions the British have either been without a navy, or have let their navy get into a dangerously weak condition. On several of these occasions there has been serious trouble. Julius Caesar landed without naval opposition. Hengist and Horsa did the same. So did Canute. William, Duke of Normandy, won a crown and taught us all an exceedingly memorable date because the British had not tumbled to the fact that the sea was not, as William Shakespeare falsely observed "a moat defensive to a house" but was a satisfactory channel of invasion. To complete the rather startling catalogue of uninvited visitors to Britain one may mention that Henry of Anjou, Bolingbroke, Warwick the Kingmaker and Edward the Fourth might all reasonably be included.

The Spanish Armada failed because there was a navy. It was a rag-tag-and-bobtail navy, but it worked. The Dutch got into the Medway because the navy was allowed to weaken. Napoleon had his invasion dreams shattered by the great Lord Nelson.

These things, gentlemen, are a part of the web of Canadian history. From them the British learnt the value of naval vessels and transports as a means of conquest. Because of the fundamental truths underlying them, General Wolfe came up the great St. Lawrence River, and by the daring use of small boats and an intrepid landing force, fused in the white heat of battle the two great races from whose loins this Canada has sprung.

The origin of Canada as we know it is then, a *naval* origin. The story of the Canada we know began with ships.

"Forward moves the story now
And to half-awakened world
Wherein the Iroquois and Huron roam at will,
Lords of their land until
The coming of the warrior-settlers
From the sea.
A world of stout firm-growing tree,
Of buffalo, and beaver, and shy deer:
Formed and patterned by the ageless ice,
Its scale beyong the comprehension of the creatures
in it dwelling,
Its good earth bringing forth the grass
Its fruits yielding the seed after his kind,
In the long-ordained pattern of the great Ordaining
Mind.
A world of huge unconquered mountain,
Of great bright-shining waters fast-enclosed by
the land
The whole beyond capacity of Man to know and
understand

A world unto itself—alone:
Until the moving story of the ships,
Adventure-laden, seeking new horizons as of yore,
Touched upon its shore.

These men, our ancestors, came in ships, deep in the weight of men, to march with firm tread

"To the mountain's feet and the river's head;
To move inward to the land's heart,
The sleeping deer to wake;
The Indian to drive from his ranging home,
The new-built ships to sail upon the lake;
The land to know, its contours to espy,
To look upon the ancient glories of the new
With the old world's eye:
The stout stockades to build, the towns, the
cities fair;
New work to make, new industry to bring, new
smoke to hang upon the stilly air.
Thus, arising from the old, was the new world
newly made.
They came, these men: they saw: they stayed.
Theirs was the victory.
They came by sea."

I do not wish to labour the point, gentlemen. I have certainly not gone into all this merely for the doubtful pleasure of reading some of my own indifferent verse. But I do wish to make the point extremely clear. The claim of the island of Britain to have "arisen from out the azure main" is a pretty enough conceit, but is it a legendary and hypothetical claim, based upon geological surmise. The claim of the overwhelming majority of the population of the American continent to have as its ancestors men who came by sea is neither legendary nor hypothetical: it is certainly not surmise: it is plain fact, fact beyond all doubt or possibility of intelligent dispute.

What has happened once can happen twice. Indeed, it happened for the second time when Wolfe profiting by the long experience of his race in the use of the oceans of the world as a means of transport, brought his ships into the St. Lawrence and stormed Quebec in the absence of any effective naval opposition.

What has happened twice, may happen thrice. Therefore, when I attempt to answer the question that I have deliberately posed, the first thing that I must say is that the Navy is living up to the sea-going traditions of the spiritual ancestors of its ships, and the actual ancestors of its men, and is—in a hundred ways—providing protection for these shores.

That protection takes the form, very largely, of protecting ships. This is a familiar story. Guns, planes, tanks, shells, bombs, men and commando daggers would be all useless to our cause—would offer no protection, or only belated protection, to our homes, no matter how great their efficiency or quantity—if there were no ships in which to take them to the places where they are needed most.

This fact is appreciated to the very full by the enemy. It is, indeed, exploited. I am venturing here a personal opinion—I hope it will be understood, not only by members and guests of The Empire Club, but also by the Press, that this is in no sense an official address. That exploitation has been very successful. Even to-day, with a taste of victory upon our tongues for a change, it would be the greatest folly to underestimate the peril that lies beneath the waters. The U-boat is Hitler's most successful weapon, and—if one may take a long view—it constitutes certainly one of the greatest threats to the security of our country.

If, in the first flush of a success which is not yet complete, and can represent only a step towards the far fiercer struggle which lies ahead in Europe, we were for one moment to slacken our endeavours to overcome this danger, if we were to slacken our ship-building, we would be taking a grave risk.

The shipyard worker who slacks to-day is either ignorant, apathetic, or suicidal. Nothing is more important to our present efforts than a continued and ever-increasing supply of ships. Nothing could be more fatal than a diminution of that supply.

This country to-day, this continent, indeed one might say, in a certain sense, the whole of our civilization, is ringed around with hulls of steel. Let that wall of floating steel begin to crumble, and all is lost.

Now, a very important sector of that wall is held by the Royal Canadian Navy. If, at the outbreak of this war, any man in this country had prophesied that the Canadian Navy would, within three years, have a personnel of some fifty thousand, and possess beyond five hundred vessels—he would have been called an optimist. And considering that enormous expansion of personnel which began with some 1,700, I would like you gentlemen to think for a moment of the terrific activity there has been in the direction of training in order to pass so many men through training establishments in such a way that in a minimum of time, (and an extraordinary minimum it has been), they could be made into effective fighting seamen. If, given the likelihood of a major and continuous battle developing in the Atlantic, he had stated that Canadian ships and Canadian seamen would be handling more than one-third of that battle, and doing it with some distinction, he would have been dismissed as a visionary lunatic. You will be interested to know that to-day we are handling some forty-five per cent of the Battle of the Atlantic. (Applause.)

These things are cold fact to-day, mere matters of record, known well—and no longer marvelled at—by those who know anything at all about the Naval Service.

Ours is a navy built up at break-neck speed. Indeed, I believe for the speed in building a navy we have beaten all records in all history.

Our ships formed a part of that vast protecting screen which bore the men and materials on the victorious course to North Africa. They are to be seen daily in the North Atlantic. Their stems have knifed through the

Pacific waters. The ice-laden road to Murmansk knows them, too. This is a record of ubiquity in which, perhaps, our Navy may take some pride.

The story of our personnel is, if anything, even more impressive. Canadian seamen, officers and ratings, are to be found wherever there is fighting on the seas. They are scattered throughout the ships of the Royal Navy, and have distinguished themselves both in action, and in the permanent long-drag, whose predominant note is vigilant boredom, which is the lot of the fighting seaman in time of war.

One hundred and fifty-four of our officers and ratings have won decoration, mention in despatches, or official commendation. This, in a service where opportunities of individual distinction are few, and the standard very high indeed, is not unimpressive.

But the doings of the Navy are concerned less with the gaining of individual distinction, than the performance of those comparatively humdrum duties, as members of a series of teams whose united strength forms that floating wall of steel to which I have already referred.

I remember this summer, when I was at sea for a short time, running into one of those situations which, if you give them thought, provide you with plenty to think about. I was in a corvette on escort duty, looking after a small section of a larger convoy which we were to meet as it arrived from the other side of the Atlantic.

We made our rendezvous in fog—which is not always very easy to do. And, as we took over from another escort group, we steamed past a number of small ships of that group. We recognized one or two of them, and exchanged signals. One or two were British. One or two were Canadian. There was a Polish vessel, and a corvette of the Fighting French navy, and yet another flying the Dutch flag. The teamwork of the Atlantic was very evident.

There was a little thrill in this. Our Navy is quite used to such sights: but it was my first trip at sea since joining up, and I found it rather striking. It, of course, led to the obvious thought that our Navy is doing precisely what all the navies of the United Nations are doing—we're all doing our damndest to get the merchant ships, the transports, and the rest, to their proper destinations with the least possible amount of loss. And we're doing it as a team.

That, expressed simply, is what the Navy is doing. It is not news. It is something that everybody knows, and it is not, in the spectacular way, particularly heroic.

Yet, there are certain things about that job only dimly realized by the majority of people, about which the public should know far more than it does.

It should know, for instance, that with less than a handful of exceptions, our Navy consists of very small ships. A destroyer, after all, can hardly be called gigantic. It certainly cannot be called a comfortable vessel. It is not even particularly safe, for it has no armour worth mentioning, and relies almost entirely upon its speed for its safety.

A corvette is so much smaller than a destroyer that I remember going aboard a destroyer a while back, after a spell in a corvette, and congratulating the Captain on the enormous size of his ship.

Ours, gentlemen, is a small ship navy. That is to say, a navy whose ships are very hard on its personnel. A day of rough weather in a corvette will tire you out—even if you have nothing to do. The muscular effort of maintaining yourself perpendicular when all about you (to misquote Kipling) is perpetually in cock-eyed motion, is quite tiring all by itself. This applies to every ship that we have in the North Atlantic, or elsewhere, with the sole exception of our three armed merchant cruisers. And even these are, I am told, less comfortable than they look.

I believe it has been said, by our enemies, that the Canadian Navy is a navy of yachtsmen, who are hopelessly amateurish, and whose ships are not much good. I doubt if this view will be corroborated by crews which, unhappily for them, made all too definite contact with the

Assiniboine and the *Oakville,* with the *Chambly* and the *Moose Jaw.* (Applause.)

Of course, it's a navy of amateurs. The professionals are now in a very small minority: but it's extraordinary how much skill a serious-minded amateur can develop, if he has had good professional guidance. It's surprising how much damage he can do. It's inspiring how much he enjoys the process.

If the Germans persist in regarding our little fighting ships as amateurish ugly ducklings: at least we may justifiably retort by paraphrasing Mr. Churchill, and exclaiming Some Ducklings!

And, having regard to the effect of our depth charges, we might add—Some Eggs! (Laughter.)

Yet, though it is true that the Canadian Navy has had its share of the improved U-boat hunting which has been a pleasing feature of the long-drawn-out battle of late, I would not wish, for the sake of provoking some optimistic mirth at our enemies' expense, to suggest to you that the U-boat menace is not the most serious that we face to-day.

Rather would I wish to make some attempt to show something of how serious that menace is. They have penetrated the St. Lawrence, and have sunk twenty ships. That is food for thought.

They have ranged the seas, not immune, but with considerable success, and have nullified hours and hours of work on the farm and in the factory, by sending the products of toil to the bottom of the sea, together with good ships and brave men.

Above all things, gentlemen, let me impress this upon you. A submarine is not easy to find, even with the best of detector devices; and a submarine is not easy to sink when found.

I often think that that is a fact of which people are not sufficiently cognizant. You will probably be interested to know something of the effectiveness of the modern submarine. Here are some figures and facts:—

A modern U-boat often has a range of some 15,000 miles. There have been stories, I know, going about the country that they have been coming over to this side, reprovisioning and refuelling. They seem hardly worthy of serious consideration. If you have a range of 15,000 miles you don't have to take risks like that. Rumours of that sort appear in the light of fact, pretty ridiculous. Its top speed, on the surface, for *limited periods of time,* and in good weather, may be as much as twenty knots. Again, for a limited period, it can do some nine or ten knots when submerged. In emergency, it can remain submerged for 24 hours. A large submarine may carry as many as fourteen torpedoes.

Now I would like you to think of this weapon, for a moment, in terms of the average merchant ship. Many merchant ships can do no more than six or seven knots: ten knots is a fair speed; sixteen or above, is exceptional. Thus, the speed of a convoy—which is necessarily that of the slowest ship—is often as little as eight knots or nine, and may easily be as little as six knots. In other words, a submarine on the surface can quite easily overtake the average convoy.

There have been those who, regarding this undoubted fact with some considerable misgivings, have been inclined to the view that it is a mistkae to herd a number of ships together for the ocean, or coastal, passage, and—so to speak—deliberately hold down their speed to a point where they can easily be overtaken by the enemy. But it is only by herding ships together like this that we are able to provide a good measure of naval protection.

Losses of ships proceeding alone, and without escort, have been very heavy. Losses of ships in convoy, on the other hand, represent—when taken as a whole—a very small proportion of the ships in passage.

With that statement, then, you have a fair part of the answer to our question, What is the Navy Doing? It is providing effective protection for the men and materials who are keeping the war away from the Western Hemisphere. By doing so, it is protecting our shores.

It is a part, a very effective part, and a growing part, of that steadily-strengthening team which is winning the war upon the high seas.

I do not see how anybody, whether wearing naval uniform or not, can speak on naval matters to-day without saying something of the work of the Merchant Navy. It is, thank goodness, at last achieving some recognition. There never was finer, or braver work done since man learnt to use the seas. There has never been a tougher job: there has never been a more important job.

I would like to make one further point. It has to be remembered of the merchant seamen that they are not professional fighters. They are not even amateur fighters, though they have proved in the event to be among the most doughty fighters of all history. Within the last year or so, due to their heroism, they have received an increasing measure of public recognition, but I can assure you of this, no recognition can ever match their courage, their humour or their humdrum solid determination. Never have seamen faced greater risks and never have they faced them with greater cheerfulness.

I would like to give you a single example, typical I know of many, of the kind of thing that our merchant seamen have faced in the Atlantic and are still facing. This is the story of a tanker. I came across it some time ago. It was written in the simple, straightforward language of the ship's Chief Officer. The report would have been written by the Captain but he didn't live to write it. It is a very simple story. They got into some bad weather and became separated from the convoy and early in the evening they were hit by a torpedo. They investigated the damage, rather cheerfully because it didn't seem to be too serious. Fortunately, the tanker was coming this way and was filled with water. It absorbed a good deal of the shock, so they carried on, taking of course the necessary precaution of immediately manning their guns, of which they had only one.

Shortly afterward, the submarine responsible, assuming that the tanker would be in no condition to do anything very much, came to the surface and the tanker immediately opened fire. The submarine surfaced, I believe, two or three times during this period of the action (for it certainly was an action), and every time she came up they put her under again with the light four-inch gun.

Then, after the necessary manoeuvring, the submarine put another torpedo into her. So they investigated the damage again and finding the engines still turned and they could still make a speed of perhaps four or five knots, they carried on, waiting for another shot at the submarine.

Well, about this time a second submarine appeared and came to the surface. They immediately opened fire on her and scored either a direct hit or a near miss, for she disappeared into the twilight, after making an attempt to submerge and then deciding against it. She was certainly damaged.

They carried on for about an hour and then were hit by a third torpedo. This was bringing the matter to a rather serious situation. The ship obviously couldn't go on being torpedoed indefinitely without breaking up, and the water was getting rough and she was now showing signs of breaking up. So the Captain gave orders to abandon ship.

The Chief Engineer and the 3rd Officer, who was in charge of the gun, however, carried out some investigation, and they represented to the Captain that it was not necessary to abandon ship yet, that she would probably hold together for a while and there was still a good chance that the original submarine might come up and they might get her.

So with the ship literally breaking up under their feet, they stood by and waited and in due course the submarine *did* come up, and they continued to fire. It now became a surface action between them. They continued to fire until they had no more ammunition left. The submarine then put another torpedo into them. The ship promptly broke in half, and here is the thing that captured my imagination. In the report is to be found these words: "It was now decided finally to abandon ship, owing to conditions." (Applause.)

They took to the one boat that they had left and some rafts. The submarine, now realizing that the situation was perfectly safe, came to the surface, turned their searchlights on them, scored a direct hit on the raft on which was the Captain and, I think, four wireless operators and some ratings, and then went off into the night.

I have some naval friends here and I am sure they will recognize this phrase, coming from the Merchant Service, "The Navy always arrives when the whole thing is over'.. (Laughter.) I am happy to say it was one of our corvettes that did arrive, however. The submarine had gone, but they stayed around and they took every man who was still alive on board and brought them back.

That story always strikes me as reminiscent of the last fight of the *Revenge.* It was a fight to the last shot, until the ship actually was going down, when they abandoned her "owing to conditions".

Gentlemen, stories of heroism are always very interesting and exciting, but I would like to impress upon you one final thing, and that is that it is the convoy that does not appear in the newspaper which is the small victory in the Atlantic or anywhere else. The Navy's job is to see that the goods are delivered. Therefore, when people say to you, "I had a very dull trip. Nothing happened", you may immediately turn around and congratulate them and perhaps give the Navy a wink, because we do wiggle them through in the most extraordinary fashion.

I met a tanker Captain the other day who had crossed the Atlantic in this war thirty times before he saw any action. I believe that is a tribute to somebody in the Operations Division. Submarines are detected, I won't say readily, but continuously, and every possible effort is made to get convoys past them without being sighted at all by the submarine; and that, in the final analysis, is the Navy's real job, so far as our navy is concerned at the present time. Please do not think it is a defensive function, it is very offensive. After all, there willl never be the final victory gained offensively if the Navy, and with that I include the merchant navy, does not succeed in delivering the goods.

That then, summed up fairly briefly, is what the Navy is doing. It is doing the Navy's job. It is keeping the sea-lanes as clear as they can be kept in these circumstances. It is guarding our shores. It is taking all the necessary risks, facing the gales which can do sometimes more damage than the enemy, and facing the enemy with very great enthusiasm.

This is the job of the Navy—
To keep the sea-lanes clear,
That the ships may ply
'Neath a cloudless sky,
Forgetting the shades of fear;
That the trade which is your life, and my life,
May move, as the Lord ordained
On the waters' face,
From place to place,
Unhampered and unrestrained.

This is the job of the Navy—
To guard the edge of the land,
To the water to go
And encounter the foe—
By sea to make the stand,
That the sleep of the child may be dreamless,
And the mother's be deep and sound,
For the certain fact
That no alien act
Shall disturb our country's ground.

This is the job of the Navy—
To dare the raging gale,
To challenge the might
Of the storm's height,
And to follow the raider's trail.

To hold to the great tradition
Of the men who made us free,
To sail in the wake
Of Nelson, and Drake,
On the restless, heaving sea.

So pray for the men of the Navy,
As they fight for your freedom yet;
As they guard your life,
In this time of strife,
Cold, and tired, and wet,
Think of the job of the Navy,
And as you do so, pray,
That the years ahead
May be free from dread
That the Navy's here—to stay!

(Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: My reading, Sir, takes me into strange corners at times. You mentioned the little *Revenge*. I recall reading that the Captain, or the old man on the bridge, bore the name of Sir Richard Grenville. My reading also tells me that Sir Richard Grenville actually used to surprise the men of his crew by chewing up glass and letting the blood run down from each corner of his mouth. I don't know what merit there is in that, but, when the old man on the bridge will chew glass as a challenge to his junior officers, there must be something pretty tough about the Navy.

You also mentioned the teamwork that was so evident when the Canadian convoy arrived at its ocean rendezvous and took over from the convoy that had brought the ships from the Old Land to that rendezvous. I want to put in a plug here, Sir, for the Sea Cadet Movement, and for the work that the Navy League is doing in Halifax, in particular. We have there, as you know, the Allied Merchant Seamen's Club on Hollis Street, and the work that the Navy is doing in connection with just such incidents as you have related is being supplemented by the work of the Navy League. We have, in that hostel, little rooms where the men from Poland, the men from the Netherlands, the Free French, nationals from other allied countries, may gather together among themselves and speak their own languages and have their own discussions, and carry on according to their native customs.

Also, sir, you were speaking of origins. I remember reading that there was a little man in the time of Charles II, who wore a long wig, who was a bit of a philanderer, who played a flute, but who, withal, was a good navy man, a good administrator. His name was Samuel Pepys. He established a colony on the north coast of Africa and put his brother-in-law in command of that colony. It prospered for a while but eventually had to be abandoned.

Now, I think that a great many people agree that Samuel Pepys was really the founder of the modern English Navy. Little Samuel Pepys, the man who before anaesthesia was known, could submit to the operation for the extraction of gall stones and still stand it, was a pretty tough individual. And I think, Gentlemen, speaking of origins, that you will find that a very great deal of credit is due to Samuel Pepys as the originator of what we know as the modern English Navy.

Now, we thank you very sincerely for coming to us a second time. You have done a grand job to-day. We hope you will be with us again, either before the war is over or afterward. Thank you, Sir, sincerely. (Applause.)

"ESSENTIALS OF THE COMING PEACE"

AN ADDRESS BY

DR. HERBERT L. STEWART, M.A. (Oxon), Ph.D., F.R.S.C.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, December 3, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Our guest to-day is one who has been with us before and therefore needs no introduction to his friends. A son and grandson of the Manse, he was born in Ireland, and educated at Belfast and Oxford, at both of which institutions he had a very brilliant career. Since 1913 he has been on the staff of Dalhousie University at Halifax, as Professor of Philosophy.

He is a student of current events and shares the benefit of his research with an appreciative public through the medium of books, periodicals, and magazine articles. He is now, however, best known to most of us as Dr. Stewart, news commentator and radio broadcaster; otherwise, however, as Herbert L. Stewart, M.A. (Oxon), Ph.D., F.R.S.C. Gentlemen, I have the honour of presenting Dr. Stewart who has kindly consented to address us on "Essentials of the Coming Peace". (Applause.)

DR. HERBERT L. STEWART: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: There is so much I want to say to you in the course of a short talk this afternoon that I shall make as brief as possible my reciprocation of the very kind words with which I have been introduced. I think you understand how I value the opportunity of speaking to this particular Club. When your Committee invited me again I could not decline, because there was so much on my mind I wanted to share with the sort of audience I can best describe as "Empire-conscious". By no means all audiences in Canada, or for that matter in Britain, can be so described. "Imperialism", we have lately been warned by Mr. Wendell Willkie, is a word of ill omen abroad. It is not too much to say that it arouses a good deal of suspicion in some quarters nearer home. The reasons are obvious. People knew the Empire of Tsarist Russia, of Hohenzollern Germany, of the Austro-Hungarian Hapsburgs, of the Japanese "Son of Heaven". They might naturally recommend use of a different word when one means a very different type of national association. I think this was the deciding motive when the term "Commonwealth of Nations" was preferred by that greatest of overseas exponents of our British Imperialism—Field-Marshal Smuts of South Africa. And yet it is hard to part with a term short and familiar for one that is new and cumbrous. Besides, the word "Empire" carries a sense of unity that we want just now to emphasize, and that does not belong in the same obvious, intrinsic manner to the term "Commonwealth of Nations". Field-Marshal Smuts himself has declared his belief that the principle on which members are associated in the British family supplies the best model for a coming wider federation. It is because I want to insist on this as a basis for the coming peace that I turn in the first instance to a Club in whose very constitution the spirit of British imperial unity is central.

It may be suggested that my title means a premature enterprise. The war is still raging. Can we talk about post-war conference and world settlement? *"Inter arms silent leges."* So said Cicero, in a speech that most of us read and some of us remember. If law itself is thus silenced by the din of battle, how much more the voice of speculation on how law might be improved! I notice Sir Percy Bates, the Chairman of the Cunard Company, has been the spokesman of a very vociferous opposition to planning for a post-war world. This is what I find he lately said: "It is strange but true that there is an active collection of people sufficiently devoid of any responsibility in carrying on the war effort to have the leisure to plan a new earth". If you look at such organs as the *National Review* or the *Nineteenth Century,* or if you look at the manifesto of that very eager group calling itself the "Individualist Movement" you will find that Sir Percy speaks for an insistant if not a very large body of British opinion.

And yet I am convinced that he and his friends are wrong. It would of course be absurd to attempt to produce a draft treaty of peace, to say how the map of Europe is to be redrawn and what are to be the boundaries of the post-war Japan. So many adjustments which it is now impossible to foresee would have to be met. But those who have been pressing for some sort of outline of the post-war world propose nothing of the sort to which Sir Percy's satire has any relevance. It is surely important that we should clarify. We cannot clarify too widely to listeners the essential principles of the great document called *The Atlantic Charter.* Therein is the planning for a new world, a new earth. Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt thought it worth while to withdraw at considerable danger and immense trouble, suspending activities very important elsewhere, that they might meet somewhere in the North Atlantic to sketch exactly the sort of thing which arouses Sir Percy Bates' vehement resentment. I cannot help thinking they were not so markedly inferior to him in sense of responsibility for winning the victory that they withdrew for this purpose in a mood of negligence. I am rather haunted by the suspicion that Sir Percy's concern is not so much against the impropriety of stopping to plan a new earth as against the sort of new earth which President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill and, we may add now, Sir William Beveridge, have been planning. Surely if one thinks of this further consideration, one can see that those men were right. It is always an excellent rule that you shouldn't be above learning from the enemy. If the propagandists of the Axis Powers have time and energy to confuse persistently, and to misrepresent, the purpose of the Allied Nations, we ought to have time to correct it. They are busy, constantly busy with that very job. They are constantly broadcasting to the Far East a story that it is just the old British Imperialism at work again to exploit the coloured races. They are broadcasting to the Arabs about British partnership with Jews in Palestine. They are broadcasting to Russia that Great Britain and the United States hate the Soviet Union far more than they hate Germany, and are using the Soviet Union only as a tool. They are broadcasting to the audience they think most susceptible in Britain and the United States to anti-Bolshevist appeal that if the democracies win this war, it will mean the Bolshevization of all Europe.

Our propaganda has been not our best side. Their propaganda has been mostly artfully contrived. We may try to persuade ourselves that they make no impression, but we have sad evidence in Malaya and in Burma, in India and in South Africa, that they have got actual results. There is a warning there: a warning which I am sure is what chiefly inspired Mr. Wendell Willkie—who amid some spacious blunders—said some things that were most opportune and important: a warning that we should not neglect counter-propaganda.

In attempting a sketch of essentials for the coming settlement, the point I mention first is this, that in the settlement we must embody the spirit of a moral triumph, a triumph for moral principles. This means that we must turn a deaf ear to those already quite active in urging that we must not in the next treaty inflict upon the beaten nations a sense of humiliation. They desire that, at the conference table, we shall carefully disguise in terms of economic or territorial adjustment what we have declared throughout the war to be a moral issue, and declare that unless we adopt this precaution we must expect a third World War. In short, it seems that we must not obtrude in the settlement what we know to have been the very heart of the cause for which we fought.

Now it seems to me that that way leads to ruin. I don't believe that the method to ensure faithful acceptance of the peace terms by the defeated dictatorial powers is by any such flattering of their vanity or of their sense of dignity. I think we must adopt quite other means to prevent them from trying their fortunes in war again. Those for whom I am concerned are rather the anti-Fascist and the anti-Nazi minority, which I have no doubt are very large indeed in Germany and in Italy. If you tell them that the peace you have in mind is one of mere territorial or economic or legal adjustment, the clearing up of a misunderstanding which was unfortunate and led to most lamentable results, but which may well have been the fault of the different sides in something like equal proportion—you know the sort of sagacious silliness so often put forward in the name of "political science"—if you say that, I quite believe that our potential friends in those countries will lose heart and will exclaim "What's the use? It will all have have to be done over again. This war is going to end like the last war, and there will be a third one, quite possibly about 1960".

Gentlemen, as I see the situation, two conceptions of the government of mankind have been in conflict: the one, whose constituent values are liberty, justice, good faith; the other, whose essence is despotism, class dominance, gigantic and systematic fraud. Surely here is a conflict which means everything to mankind, in the ultimate treasures of life, not in mere economic interest, or national prestige, but in all that makes life worth living. This is what has inspired the will and nerved the arm of the United Nations in battle: the same must prescribe the conditions of peace: it must be written in clear unmistakable language into the document which will correspond to the 1919 *Treaty of Versailles.* From that as central principle must be explicitly derived the whole scheme of requirements that the victors will impose upon the vanquished. Their single purpose must be to guarantee a way of international life, twice insolently challenged within one generation, against the risk of a serious challenge again.

Now, I well know the danger of "the speech peril", that is to say, the deceptiveness of phrase-making. Morley once warned the Emersonians that a platitude is not transformed into a profundity by being dressed up as a conundrum. Lest, then, I should be thought in what I have just said to be labouring the obvious, in language more resonant than significant, I shall try to set forth what it is that I fear from certain quarters in the next Peace Conference, and against which I have pressed this, about the moral issue of the war, as a warning. We shall have a group vociferous at the Conference Table with the story that here was no basic moral conflict, that the dispute arose from the old, old clash of national interests, in which each competitor would have acted very much as the other acted if he had been in the other's circumstances. With fine show of a hospitable and sympathetic mind, it will be urged that the passions of the battlefield be shut out from the deliberations of the Conference Table, and the conclusion will be drawn that the disarmament of the enemy should stop short of disabling him.

Very few of us would be accessible to that sort of plea now. After what we have seen of German purpose and German method, we should deal promptly and summarily with any suggestion that no more that a misunderstanding had set us at variance. Shall we keep that resolute, clear-sighted hold on facts when it comes to drawing up the terms of peace? We know now that Germany's word is worthless, that she is unfit for any manner of national trusteeship, that only by disarming her and keeping her disarmed can we ensure the peace of Europe. But shall we write that conviction into the Peace, and act later in the light of it? Here lies the first prerequisite of a Peace that will last.

Someone will perhaps protest: "Didn't we do just that before, and yet it did *not* last". I reply: This is only *one* prerequisite. There are others. My second essential results from my first. If the Peace is to be of this decisive, uncompromising moral character, the Powers which united to win the war must remain united to preserve the fruits of victory. And that, I am convinced, means some form of federal union after the manner urged by Mr. Clarence Streit. Union of democracies commanding international force to defend what they have won.

A compromise peace might probably be maintained for a very considerable time with no such novel readjustment as the one Mr. Streit recommends. Especially since both sides would emerge from the war very much exhausted, and ready for almost any way of avoiding another fight. A bargain in which the victors had not profited on any great scale, and the vanquished had suffered no complete disablement, might continue to be observed while the weakness of the one side and the weariness of the other made a peace—or at least a truce—attractive to both. This has often happened. From time immemorial, under the old system of independent competing Powers, connected by no sort of federation, a peace such as that, concluded at the close of a war, has lasted long. But never such a peace as the one I have been declaring this time to be essential. This is an utterly new kind of settlement—disabling one side completely on the ground of its moral unfitness to be trusted with the normal equipment of a Sovereign Power. We made an approach to that new type of peace in 1919, but we tried it with only the old type of international machinery, when the *Treaty of Versailles* had its war-guilt clause and its clause declaring Germany unfit for colonial trusteeship. The result was what we know. The inference is not that it was the wrong kind of peace, and that this time we should aim at making the settlement last by giving up what we are fighting for. The inference is that we must preserve for its maintenance the machine which secured it.

It won't serve to set up again an international debating society like the League of Nations, with the paralyzing proviso that no decision shall be effective unless it is unanimous. Nor to indulge again such early quarrelling and counter-manoeuvering among the Allies as that which set Britain and France at work to frustrate each other within five years from the signature of the *Treaty of Versailles.* Least of all must there be again a member of the victorious group refusing to share in the common burden of safeguarding the Peace. "You cannot," said Francis Bacon, in one of his happy epigrams, "do what has never yet been done, except by means that have never yet been tried". A common council of the democracies—controlling common defence forces (land, sea, air), with a common budget for their maintenance, but leaving the internal affairs of each as at present to itself—this is a difficult and in some respects a disagreeable proposal. But I think there is in it less that is either disagreeable or difficult than in the prospect of a Third World War to which, if we revert to the old internal method, we may look forward within a comparatively short time. The essence of the safeguard would be this, that if danger should ensue again, there would be no such protracted and enfeebling delay as we have seen twice within a generation—the democracies, every one of which was in fearful peril, unable to come to terms with one another, but playing again with ideas of neutrality and isolationism in rhetoric which it now makes us sick to recall. Nor would the danger be allowed, as before, to develop, with the vanquished powers securing accomplices among the victors at disagreements with one another so that the conditions of peace might be secretly nullified.

Can we rise to a project such as this? Or can we see in it only the hardships, the burdens, the irritating changes which I make no attempt to conceal? President Roosevelt, in a recent fireside talk, predicted that once the victory has been gained, the isolationist spirit, which no experience has availed to subdue in certain Americans, will assert itself again. It is not only in certain Americans that this dangerous mood is to be apprehended. Unless the next Peace Settlement is guaranteed by continuing partnership of the victors very different from their unsteady mutual relationship after the last Peace, the sequel will be as tragic as before. But must we so despair of mankind as to think that not even a second terrible experience will avail? The United Nations are figting this war with eye fixed on the goal, looking beyond the difficulties of the way. Can we not keep the same perspective for the Peace? Preventive medicine has its moral here. How often by a fraction of the inconvenience and self-restraint one accepts to be rid of a disease might one have prevented it from developing at all!

The last of my essentials for the coming peace is this: in order to ensure such continuing co-operation of the United Nations, the terms imposed must commend themselves as *just* terms: not vengeful but precautionary: punitive only like the sentence of a criminal court, with remedial purpose to deter and to reform. If this is neglected, in the fierceness of anger and the flush of victory, we must expect before long a breakdown in our Union. The flush will pass off, the fierceness will abate: soon we shall hear the voice of misgiving about a settlement of merely passionate vindictiveness. This, I am sure, was the thought which dictated clause 4 of the great manifesto we call the *Atlantic Charter*—the clause promising in the reconstructed world equal access for all nations to the necessities of life and industry.

The point I am here emphasizing will be altogether mistaken if it is thought to be a plan for sentimental indulgence to world scoundrelism. It was upon the merciful, not upon the sentimental, that the historic beatitude was pronounced, and a fundamental contrast indeed is the one which separates them. For cruelty a prolific source is sentimentality—choice of the easy-going in the immediate present with refusal to consider remote and deeper consequences. What the Peace Settlement must show is the inflexibility of a calm judicial decision. We are dealing with criminal nations, and the parallel of justice for criminal persons is a good one. The whole fair-minded world applauds the pledge that the arch-miscreants in this outrage upon mankind shall be dealt with at its close as their appalling deeds deserve. But we have long realized that the problem about criminals is not limited to one of catching them and punishing them. It extends to the question whether there was anything in the lot of these desperadoes which in a measure conduced to make them what they became—anything alterable by law or by social effort, whose alteration might thus make for a more peaceful world.

Point 4 of the *Atlantic Charter* is the product of just such thought about nations. I shall be much surprised if we do not yet learn that it was Mr. Roosevelt rather than Mr. Churchill who drafted the special wording of this passage. It was surely the champion of the Four Freedoms who suggested for paragraph 6 the phrase about freedom from want and freedom from fear. I feel that from the same hand or the same voice which so often described "the forgotten man" came paragraph 4, so obviously describing a forgotten nation.

There are countries fitly called "the Have-Not's" in contrast with others that are "Have's", just as there is such a contrast of individuals. Japan has no cotton of her own and no oil. Italy has scarcely any coal. Germany is lamentably short of fats. These are essential of industry, and they exist elsewhere in an abundance far beyond what those fortunate enough to have access to them can use. This does not imply, as so often alleged in enemy propaganda, that British and Americans and even Dutch are brigands, who have pillaged and monopolized the treasury of the earth. It is a charge as baseless as that of the burglar in a criminal court that the more prosperous people owe their prosperity to his methods, differing only in a certain finesse of concealment. But though such inequalities of fortune, personal or national, arise from a multitude of circumstances involving no fault in anyone, we surely need to apply to the less fortunate peoples something of the method so long developed under the name "Social Reform" for the less fortunate persons. It is idle to say, as is so often said, "Let the indigent countries buy what they need in the open market". They can buy only if they have the sterling or the dollars needful, and they can procure this only by selling their own goods or products to countries fenced against their trade by tariff walls they cannot scale.

The heart of the problem here, as I see it, is this: How shall we facilitate access to the essentials of peaceful industry for the dangerous Powers while ensuring that they will not use these as a means to rearm? Point 4 of the *Atlantic Charter,* exclaims the *National Review,* means that Germany after defeat is to be set on her feet again, to prepart for the Third World War! Surely it has no such necessary implication. Point 4 stands side by side with Point 8, a pledge for the complete disarmament of Germany, and it is fair to suppose that experience of how disarmament was evaded by German bad faith twenty years ago will prescribe, especially to a government led by Mr. Churchill, measures to make it this time effective. Surely we now know so well the vital necessities of rearming that we can keep successful watch, through garrisons that must long occupy the defeated countries, against the beginnings of an all too familiar peril. It won't be altogether easy. It will involve harsh repressive measures. It will mean turning a deaf ear to the seductive voices of appeasement. But once Prussia is dismembered, the German *Reich* dissolved, the points of vantage occupied by British, American, Russian, Czech, Polish, Free French sentries, that task of peace vigilance should not be beyond the United Nations which proved equal to the task of war. Such measures should prove altogether compatible with the facilitation of peaceful German and Italian and even Japanese industry. It was not as a desperate means to get at the essentials which more favoured nations had monopolized that these aggressor nations went to war. But undoubtedly their economic hardships supplied an effective pretext for the dictators to urge upon their own people. That pretext it is not only an act of justice, it is a precaution against another war, to remove.

Now, if any plan of world-mending so difficult, so delicate, in some respects so self-sacrificing as this is to be attempted, it must be the task of the democracies in union. They cannot be engaged at the same time on schemes for one another's economic enfeeblement, under old mottoes such as "Mind Britain's Business", or "America First". That way lies national isolationism, and we know the collapse to which it leads. It was Lord Beaverbrook who made such play with the motto, "Mind Britain's Business", but he is now a champion of Federal Union: the lesson of events has not been lost on him. No less significant is the announcement that the leader of American Republicanism, the party of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, now declares "Tariff walls must be abolished where they keep the democracies apart". It is indeed the United States and Britain that must lead the way, but it needs no seer to predict that other democracies will be quick to join, or that overwhelming success, in peace, as in war, will come from their continued combination.

This, as I see it, is the responsibility which the English-speaking peoples must face. It is their responsibility because of the bond far closer than community of blood, far deeper than community of language, that holds them together. Their fundamental values are the same; they think and feel and purpose alike about the things that matter most of all: they judge the same way about what makes life worth living. Never before did they realize this on either side of the Atlantic as they realize it now. Never in their history was the spiritual kinship of British and American so felt. No one has put the conditions of an enduring peace better than that eloquent German exile, Hermann Rauschning, in his book, *The Redemption of Democracy*. What we need, he says, is a *Pax Atlantica*. It is the Atlantic English-speaking Powers that must first win it and then guarantee it. What I am pleading for is the recognition in time that this community of effort must be maintained, and can be maintained only by the appropriate machinery, after the stimulus of danger which it called forth shall have passed away. I am haunted by memories of 1918 and its sequel—the fair promise so soon and so tragically marred. For this reason I press these considerations to-day, when to some they may seem premature. We have such ground to dread again the postponement of planning, from the time when enthusiasm is at white heat to the time of a victor's lassitude.

Gentlemen, I began this address by saying I had some ideas to present to an audience of the "Empire-conscious". I meant an audience with no "isolationist" tinge: an audience of those who welcome world responsibility for the group of nations united under King George VI and acting together to safeguard a certain British way of life. They acted together to safeguard this a quarter-century ago: they are acting together again, with common toil, common patience, common sacrifice, not to acquire territory or to promote trade or to establish racial dominance, but to preserve certain human values in whose protection they judge no risk too great and no cost too heavy. Not one member of the Commonwealth feels that in this union there has been any loss of independent autonomy, of sovereign rights. May we not hope that the idea of that Commonwealth's united efforts may be extended to what I have called the Federal Union? It is the hint, I think, for the co-operation that is to come. There will be difficulties, prejudices, antagonisms, to meet. There were such difficulties in the Union of the British Commonwealth, but they were surmounted.

Ever sinice I have been associated with this Federal Union Movement, I have been deluged with letters—some of them most extraordinary—from objectors. There are the objectors in Victoria, B.C., more loyal than the King, who write protesting against "sacrifice of the imperial heritage". I have scarcely read that when I get a protest from someone in the coalfields of Cape Breton, whose sentiments for a radical transformation are such as might alarm either Molotov or Stalin. I hear from Daughters of the Empire, and again from Daughters of the American Revolution, who want the same thing on totally different grounds. The Social Creditors write to crush me with some motto from a speech of Mr. Aberhart's, and before I have time to digest that, I have a missive from British Israel, telling me that Federal Union is discountenanced by some inscription of the Great Pyramid. These are obstacles we must recognize but whose gravity we need not exaggerate. A tremendous task lies ahead of us. But we should be inspired, surely now, if ever, by ideals before which obstables fade away. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen, it is our custom to have the Chairman thank the speaker. I am going to depart from custom to-day and ask Mr. Hector Charlesworth to thank Dr. Stewart. Mr. Charlesworth is a friend of many years standing as a fellow-labourer in the field of radio broadcasting, and he is also a member of the Executive Committee of The Empire Club.

MR. HECTOR CHARLESWORTH: Mr. Chairman, Dr. Stewart, Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen: This is the second time on which I have had the honour to express the thanks of The Empire Club of Canada to Dr. Stewart for a most profoundly humanist and interesting address on matters of deep concern to all of us. As I said last year, I take some pride in the fact that I was to some extent instrumental in making Dr. Stewart a national figure, because I discovered nine years ago he was making broadcasts from the *Halifax Herald* station that seemed to me the best news comments that were to be found on the continent of North America. (Applause.) I have said that before. As a result we put him on the National Network, and we have presently found hundreds of thousands of listeners, not merely in Canada and the United States, who will agree with that opinion. Every year my conviction of Dr. Stewart's genius for illuminating public questions has grown. I have been listening to him now for nine years. I seldom miss a broadcast unless it is unavoidable, and quite recently I rejoiced in that fact that it fell to his turn to announce the news of the American invasion of North Africa—to me at least. I suppose some people listened to news broadcasts earlier in the day, but I learned of that stupendous event from an account of Dr. Stewart's. He is not only the greatest news commentator, bar none, on the radio, he is also a great corrector of the imbecilities and ineptitudes of scores of other news commentators who, I am sorry to say, are not confined in the United States of America.

Now, Dr. Stewart, as I listened to you I felt you were directing our minds to problems that every shot fired by the United Nations to-day are bringing closer to us, problems we must think of, and whether everybody agrees with you or not, unquestionably you have set our minds in the right direction on matters that will be dealt with within, let us hope, at least five years. On behalf of this Club, Sir, I thank you. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: You have heard the vote of thanks, so ably expressed by Mr. Hector Charlesworth, and joined in by the audience generally. The meeting is now adjourned.

"THE EMPIRE"

AN ADDRESS BY

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF ATHLONE,
K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., A.D.C.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, December 10, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Your Excellency, Your Grace, Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords of the Judiciary, Sir William Mulock, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: We have the unusual pleasure and distinction to-day of entertaining His Majesty's representative in Canada, His Excellency the Right Honourable The Earl of Athlone, who has kindly consented to address us.

It is our custom to use the expression "Guest Speaker" when referring to the speaker of the day, but unless one can be a guest in his own Club, the appellation "guest" cannot properly be applied to His Excellency, who is a member of our Club, and holds the office of Honorary President. (Applause.) I might say, Gentlemen, that I am just one office removed from that honorary degree.

The Empire Club of Canada is affiliated with The Royal Empire Society of England and it is of significant interest to us that our Honorary President is the Deputy President of The Royal Empire Society. To strengthen the bond of unity within the Empire is the single purpose, the common aim, of both organizations.

His Excellency has had a distinguished career as a soldier, as a statesman, as a diplomat, and as a Christian gentleman. Personally, I like to associate him with the profession of the law, where he ranks as an Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple.

Your Excellency, the City of Toronto is a loyal city, loyal to the cause of Christian democracy, loyal to the cause of freedom and truth, loyal, Sir, to the person and the throne of His Majesty, and to His Majesty's representative in Canada. This large audience in presence is a token of that loyalty. This audience, however, does not constitute, Sir, the entire audience, for scattered throughout the length and the breadth of the land are many, many thousands more than are here, thousands who are with us in spirit, gathered about their radios to listen to your address, and in the heart of every one of these our countrymen burns the flame of that same inextinguishable loyalty and devotion.

Your Excellency, it gives me great pleasure to introduce to you, Sir, this magnificent audience here and beyond. Will you, Sir, be pleased to address us. (Applause.)

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ATHLONE: Mr. President, Your Grace, Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen: I am indeed greatly honoured at being invited to address The Empire Club for the second time. The last time I had the pleasure of being your guest was in January, 1941. I spoke to you then of England and of what was meant by the English Inheritance. It was at a time when Great Britain stood alone under the fierce concentrated attack of the German Air Force. She was, of course, sustained by increasing help from Canada and the other Dominions, and she was encouraged by the goodwill of the United States. But still she was alone. It was in that small island that homes were being destroyed every night and the lives of women and children lost, in a mounting toll of death and deprivation. It was in Great Britain that large portions of our cities were battered to the ground or wracked by fire in a roaring furnace of devastation. It was against Great Britain that the vast resources of Europe, speedily and skilfully mobilized by a Germany flushed with easy victories, were directed with almost overwhelming power. It was to Great Britain that the whole civilized world looked with varying degrees of confidence as the last bulwark against the aggressor before the evil forces of Germany carried their standards to the ends of the earth. The civilized world appeared to be tottering to its fall. It didn't look as if anything could save it. The future seemed to be about as dark as at any time in our history.

How different is the picture to-day! Our island fortress stood firm against all attacks. The courage and resolution of our people were unshaken. Their heads were unbowed, except in sorrow for those who had died in order that they might live. The vast productive machinery of the Empire has developed beyond all our expectations. The Luftwaffe has been beaten out of the skies by the young men of our air forces, most of whom have been trained in Canada. The almost unlimited resources in men and materials of the United States have been, and are being, rapidly mobilized against the Axis Powers. The people and armies of China have survived the long agony of Japanese pressure with magnificent endurance under their great soldier-statesman, Chiang Kai Shek; and the epic struggle and tremendous achievements of the Russian people and of the Red Army have diverted the German war machine from our very doors and drained it for over a year of the strength in weapon and manpower which was designed, after a short campaign in Russia, to bring Great Britain to her knees. That is something for which we must be profoundly grateful.

But while it is right and proper to regard the war in its every aspect, it is of particular interest to members of an Empire Club to consider it in relation to our Empire. During the last few months the British Empire has on more than one occasion been the target of some bitter criticism. I, for one, welcome such criticism. Most of it is due to ignorance, and people should never be reproached for their scanty knowledge of so complex a mechanism as the British Empire. Most of our own people know very little about it themselves, so we cannot expect even our best friends to know more. And if they criticize our institutions, it gives our people a chance to answer their charges and, what is far more important, it gives them a chance to describe some of our achievements and explain some of our difficulties.

It would not, I think, be fitting for me as Governor-General to answer our critics, and it would, of course, be unnecessary for me to describe to the members of an Empire Club some of the things we had accomplished, for you all no doubt know as much about them as I do. But for the benefit of those who may be listening to me outside the walls of this room, I would like to take the opportunity of uttering one plea, and it is this.

Before you criticize the British Empire or any part of it, or the way it is administered, see that your criticism is based on accurate and complete knowledge and not on mere emotion.

A distinguished Englishwoman on a recent visit to Canada said these words: "I am profoundly convinced that between the United Nations all judgments based on emotion—even the most generous emotion—without knowledge are at this time a source of potential danger to the coming world". That seems to me a wise statement, and it is particularly true as regards the relationships which exist between different parts of our Empire. To any one who has not made a close study of our Empire system, those relationships must indeed seem bewildering, and often illogical. But if it is not permissible for me to answer some of the criticisms to which I have referred, I can at any rate make some comments on the effect of the war, so far, on our Empire.

Now, the first thing that the war did was to demonstrate not only to the rest of the world but also to ourselves that the independence of the great self-governing Dominions was a fact and not a fiction. The complete freedom of action which each member of our family had in deciding whether to declare war on Germany or not was a remarkable proof that we were entirely independent in what was, after all, the most momentous decision that any nation can make. No one was more surprised at that discovery than we were ourselves. One member of our family decided to remain neutral, and no one questioned her right to do so. Another member came in only after the most anxious heart searchings, and in the face of much domestic opposition. But in no case was the slightest pressure brought to bear by one member on another. Every choice was a free choice, freely exercised.

Another effect of the war on our family of nations was the realization that however divergent we may be in our several policies, we are all actuated by a common purpose. The ties that bind us are in the eloquent words of Burke, "light as air but strong as links of iron". The threat of danger to one of us was a threat of danger to all. That is of great significance because it shows that a free association of peoples bound together by a common obligation to preserve their liberties is a far stronger association than anything that could be achieved by written documents or formal alliances.

Another effect of the war is that it has brought into the limelight our declared purpose of permitting any of our dependencies or colonies complete independence as soon as they show themselves capable of governing themselves. It takes a long time for some people to learn, just as it took us a long time to learn, that there will inevitably be chaos, bankruptcy and poverty in any country in which the claims of good administration are subordinated to partisan political considerations. Most people would be surprised at the large measure of self-government which already exists in countries such as Ceylon, Nigeria and Kenya. In fact, it is an axiom of our colonial administration that whenever the inhabitants of these countries are able to take the place of British officials, then appointments formerly held by the British are available to the people of the country, with the result that throughout our colonies and dependencies, the number of British officials is steadily diminishing.

With so many different systems of administration in the British Empire, it might be supposed that the machinery would break down owing to its complicated and seemingly unco-ordinated structure. . It might be imagined that loyalties which are complex are necessarily weak. But the opposite might in fact be the case. The affection of an under-graduate for his university is increased by his liking for his college. An officer with pride in his regiment has even more pride in the army of which it forms but a small part. A good citizen of Toronto is also a good Canadian, and in the same way, a feeling of devotion and pride in the British Empire may be enriched by the same feeling toward Canada. We are all in fact citizens of a greater world than that which occupies our ordinary moments. We must, therefore, strive to be worthy of that greater citizenship.

Some people say that the various links which connect the countries of the British Empire are so intangible as to be of little practical value, and that in the hard world of reality, sentiment has but a slender chance of holding people together. But it seems to me that that depends on how deep is the sentiment. In our case we all owe allegiance to the same Throne, and that sense of loyalty to the Sovereign has never, I think, been so wide-spread or so strong as it is to-day. During the last war, there used to be recruiting posters in England which read "For King and Country". You don't hear so much of that to-day, and yet—I think it is not by any means a bad idea. It doesn't mean, of course, that people are to go out and protect the life of the King in case somebody tries to shoot him. But it does mean that what the Crown stands for is worth fighting for. It does mean that the unity of purpose of which the Crown is the focus is worthy of protection. The mere fact that feelings of loyalty and devotion to the crown are so wide-spread is evidence of its value; for whether one comes from Toronto or London or Quebec or Calcutta or Brisbane or Capetown, and whether one lives in the prairies of Canada, the slums of Liverpool, the veldt of South Africa or the swamps of the Upper Nile, the same feeling of loyalty to a common ideal acts as a binding force and a protective covering.

The Throne has the same meaning to the dark-skinned inhabitant of Fiji as it has to some one who lives in the shadow of Buckingham Palace. Toronto is sometimes spoken of as a city with a great sense of loyalty to the Empire. That is indeed a proud and noble reputation, but I would remind you that uninformed loyalty is a snare and a delusion. Loyalty implies understanding and understanding, so far as the Empire is concerned, means knowledge of its structure and its achievements. To whatever extent the members of your Club can spread information about the Empire, they are indeed performing a public service of inestimable value.

Therefore, Gentlemen, thank you for having invited me to come to luncheon to-day, and I wish you well in your good work. (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: In the British coronation ceremony it is the Church that places the Crown. The Church, as it were, has the last say. Will Your Grace, the Archbishop, please voice the thankful gratitude of this audience for His Excellency's address.

ARCHBISHOP OWEN: Mr. President and Members of The Empire Club: It is a privilege to attempt to voice the sentiments of your heart after hearing the address of His Excellency. My office is a very simple one, but a very real one. I should like to thank him on behalf of the guests at this head table and all the members of The Empire Club present, and I think I can say on behalf of thousands who are listening at this moment, for what he has said to us. It was a word of good cheer. I well remember his address of two years ago, when he spoke on England, and to-day he has spoken to us of the Empire, and I should like to say to His Excellency, if I may, that I feel sure that many of us who have heard his word of admonition to understand more of this Empire is a word that has not fallen on fruitless ground. May I therefore thank him very much, in great simplicity, on behalf of you all for speaking to us.

The second thing that I should like to say is that he speaks to us, of course, in his great office as Governor-General of Canada. We value his presence here and we thank him for coming to us, and for sparing the time to prepare the address and to speak to us as he has spoken to us. He represents His Majesty, the King. Your Excellency, you were right indeed when you said that in The Empire Club there is a very real veneration for the Throne of the Empire.

There is another reason that I wish to express our thanks to-day to our distinguished speaker. It has something to do with that way of life which we have in the Empire, in Canada, and in all the Commonwealth. That way of life of which we hear a great deal now is like the Empire, very difficult to define. It is difficult to differentiate between the greater and the lesser things that make up the complex picture which is the Empire, but one of the things, one of the greatest things in that Empire, but one of the things which links these different ways of life into a way of life is the service that is rendered by a great and distinguished family which is represented here this morning at The Empire Club. (Applause.)

Therefore, I am sure that you would wish me to say to His Excellency that we value with real veneration, with a deep sense of gratitude the high service, the unselfish service that is rendered by His Majesty the King, by Her Majesty the Queen, and by the other members of that great family which is represented here this morning. There is worked into this complex picture that thing which binds us together, the service that is rendered by that family, the dignity, the kind of character that is worked into the fabric of our Empire.

Your Excellency, may I, on behalf of the members of The Empire Club, thank you for them for being with us and speaking to us as you have to-day. (Applause.)

"INDIA'S POSITION IN THE WAR"

AN ADDRESS BY

CHAUDHURI SIR MUHAMMAD ZAFRULLA KHAN

A Joint Meeting of The Empire Club and
The Canadian Club.

Chairman: The President of The Empire Club
John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, December 17, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Your Honour, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: India has been very much in our thoughts in the last few months and we have had some concern for the pains that our sister Dominion has been experiencing. Our concern was for a member of the family and not that she would not be able to endure. Although few had any well informed thought on the problems involved, many here and elsewhere undertook to diagnose the case and prescribe a remedy and that, naturally, caused complications.

We are fortunate, therefore, to-day, in having as guest, one who, by birth, education, training, way of life, and general experience in places of vantage and authority, is qualified to give us a true estimate of our sister's troubles.

Chaudhuri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan was born at Sialkot, Punjab; was educated at the Government College, Lahore, and thereafter at King's College, London, where he graduated with the degree of LL.B. And when I mention the Government College at Lahore, I should like to say that Professor Brett of the University of

Toronto was at the Government College at Lahore at the time Sir Muhammad was a student there.

He returned to India and commenced the practice of law and from that time forth his life has been a triumphal procession: Editor of the Law Reports, Member of the Punjab Legislative Council, delegate to the Indian Round Table Conference, Delegate to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Reforms, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Judge of the Federal Court of India, and India's first Agent-General to China, this last appointment having been made just last year. In addition to all this he was, in 1931, President of the All-India Moslem League.

And so, and so, and so, Chaudhuri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan has continued, step by step, to widen the sphere of his useful activity and enlightening influence.

He flew from India to Canada to attend the International Pacific Relations Conference at Mont Tremblant, Quebec, which concluded its deliberations on Monday of this week.

Before asking Sir Muhammad to address us, I should like to suggest to Sir Muhammad that he tell us the story that he has been telling me with reference to the time he cross-examined Mr. Winston Churchill.

Gentlemen: Chaudhuri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan. Will you, Sir Muhammad, be pleased to address us. (Applause.)

CHAUDHURI SIR MUHAMMAD ZAFRULLA KHAN: Your Honour, Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: Within the time at my disposal I shall proceed to give you some of the features in the Indian situation to-day. You will realize that India, like your great country, is a sub-continent, rather than a country, and has a population of close upon 400 millions. Any problem, therefore, relating to India must have many aspects and it would be difficult to deal in detail with any of them, let alone with several with which you may be concerned, this afternoon.

Let me introduce the subject to you by pointing out that in connection with the matter I will attempt to explain to you to-day we must keep certain distinctions in mind. The first is that the sub-continent of India is divided into what is known as the Indian States, that is to say, areas which are governed by Indian Rulers who acknowledge the authority of Britain and are in alliance with Britain, and what is known as British India.

The division between the two from the point of view of area being, roughly, a little above one-third Indian States, and a little below two-thirds British India. In the matter of population, however, British India has a certain advantage, the Indian States having about 100 million, and British India 300 millions.

I wish to concentrate your attention mostly upon British India this afternoon. British India is divided into eleven Provinces, and we have to keep in mind that the two main communities in India, the Hindus and the Muslims are again divided in the proportion of three to one. That is to say, the Muslims are roughly one-quarter of the total population and the non-Muslims about three-quarters. But it so happens that this proportion in the population does not maintain uniformity throughout the Provinces. That is to say, though in the total population of India, the Muslims are about 25 per cent, they are not 25 per cent in each Province. They are unequally divided, so that in four Provinces they are in a majority and in the remaining seven a minority. To this aspect of the matter I shall refer later. With these preliminary remarks I shall go on to explain India's position in the war.

First, let us glance at India's geographical position, which also determines its strategical position with regard to the war. India, as you are aware, is situated midway between what has come to be known as the Middle East and the Far East. The Allies armies operating in the Middle East to-day and those stationed in Iraq and Iran have to depend to a large extent upon supplies from India. China also depends to a very large extent upon India for what it is possible to send from India to China just now, and with regard to Burma, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, and other areas in South East Asia occupied by Japan, India is bound to form the base of operations when those operations are undertaken.

Therefore, you will realize, that India occupies a very vital position with regard to defence and operations that might develop during the war. Its attitude during the war, therefore, becomes a matter of very great moment indeed. Constitutionally, the position is that as soon as His Majesty's Government declared war against Germany in the beginning of September, 1939, India was automatically at war with Germany, but that raised a very difficult problem for us in India. Leaders of political parties and groups in India were aware of the constitutional position. They knew that so far as the constitutional position was concerned, India was legally at war as soon at His Majesty declared war on Germany. But they took up the position that the time had arrived when India should have been consulted before it was plunged into the war.

At that time the position in British India was what in the eleven Provinces, to which I have referred, there were responsible Ministries administrating the Provinces. Under the present Constitution which was introduced on the 1st of April, 1937, our Provincial Governments are autonomous and responsible in the Provincial sphere. This would require a word of explanation, though to Canadians it would be a familiar sort of arrangement. When I say, our Provinces are autonomous, I mean that as with you, the spheres of executive, administrative and legislative activity have been parcelled out between the Provinces and the centre—certain subjects, like education, police, administration of justice, land irrigation, medical relief, public health, forests, roads, and so on are Provincial. Certain other subjects, like defence, customs, railways, postal and telegraph services, currency, exchange, and so on, are Central. In respect of Provincial subjects the Provinces have almost complete authority. When I say that they have responsible governments I mean that the government in each Province is carried on by the Governor on the advice of a Council of Ministers who are responsible to their legislature and who continue in office only so long as they continue to possess the confidence of their legislatures. That is the ordinary parliamentary responsible form of government and the Provincial Legislatures are elected legislatures. They have two Chambers in some Provinces and in others only one.

You are familiar with the name of the Congress Party which obtained majorities and was therefore in office in seven Provinces, and it was these seven Congress Ministries who raised the question of India's position in the war, on the ground that they had not been consulted, and therefore had not been treated as responsible governments. The Provincial Governments as such were not entitled to come into the picture, as defence is a Central subject, but that is not the point I am on. It was contended that we had gone so far in constitutional progress, and were then pushed into the war without consent being obtained through the Provincial Ministries, and that brought with it the crisis in the political field which has continued unresolved during the last three years.

The latest position, so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, is that which has come to be known as the Cripps Proposals. As most of you are aware, Sir Stafford Cripps travelled to India last spring with certain proposals made by His Majesty's Government. Briefly stated, those proposals amounted to this: As soon as may be after the end of the war, His Majesty's Government undertook to put into operation any constitution in India on the basis of India becoming a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, which the various political parties in India might agree upon. If that offer was accepted, then it was understood that immediately upon the acceptance of that offer, a Government would be formed at the Center which would be composed entirely of Indians, though of course it would be presided over by the Viceroy, and would continue to be responsible to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for

India. It was hoped in actual practice it might be able to function as a responsible government.

When after the war a Constitution was framed by agreement, if any of the British Indian Provinces did not like to come into the Union on the basis of that Constitution, they could vote themselves out of the Union, and frame a Constitution of their own.

These, in brief, were the Cripps Proposals. These were turned down and the crisis continues. It became acute in July of this year, when the Working Committee of the Congress Party passed a resolution that they would not be satisfied with anything short of complete independence, here and now, coupled with the immediate withdrawal of the British from India, subject to any arrangement that might be made with regard to the British and American troops in India for purposes of defence. It was declared on behalf of the Congress that if this were not complied with within a certain time, a movement would be put in operation which Mr. Gandhi himself described might amount to open rebellion, and which would be swift and sure, though it is fair to explain that Mr. Gandhi could not have meant any movement of a violent kind, as the whole philosophy of his life is opposed to any violence of any kind whatsoever.

That is the political deadlock in India. But there is inside India a communal deadlock, without resolving which the political deadlock cannot be resolved. As I have already pointed out, the two main communities in India are the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims are, according to the latest census figures, 94 millions, or thereabouts, in a total population of 385 millions, or so. That is almost exactly one-quarter, and the position they have taken up, more particularly since their experience of Congress administrations in seven of the eleven Provinces is that under any form of Federal Government the Hindu community is bound to obtain and retain a permanent majority at the Centre. They allege that their experience of Congress administrations in what are described as "the minority Provinces" is such that they will not agree to any form of Constitution which sets up a Central Government for the whole of India. They propose that the three Provinces in the Northwest, in which there is a majority of Muslims—N.W.F.P., the Punjab and Sind—and one Province in the Northeast, in which there is a majority of Muslims, that is to say, Bengal, should be permitted to form independent states by themselves—one independent state in the Northwest and one independent state in the Northeast.

On the other hand, it is asserted by the Congress that even if there are any Muslim fears with regard to Hindu dominance at the Centre, the solution is not a splitting up of India into separate states, and in any case, neither the Congress Party, as such, nor the Hindu Community will consent to a division of India into different states.

That again, as you will see, leads to a deadlock. The Muslims will not come into a union, and the Hindus will not agree to a splitting up of India into separate states.

There is a considerable body of moderate political opinion in India which realizes that an acceptance of the extreme Congress demand during the course of the war, that is to say India's independence being recognized by the withdrawal of the British from India, would mean only one thing, that is to say, the entry of Japan as soon as the British withdraw. Therefore, it is the opinion of that body that whatever may be the motives behind the position taken up by Britain, this demand cannot be accepted during the war. In actual fact, if the British withdrew, it would result in Japan coming in, and therefore, it would not be fair to blame Britain for not complying with that extreme request at once.

There is, however, a good deal of room for advance within the four corners of the present Constitution, and one line of advance is that India's Constitutional progress can be and should be continued even while this deadlock lasts, and until a solution is found, which can only be found after victory is achieved. India should be prepared for the status of independence which it is agreed she now deserves to attain, so that when the time comes for her to frame an independent Constitution, whether she decides to remain within the British Commonwealth thereafter, or whether she goes out, she will in the meantime have made herself ready for independence. I do not claim that would satisfy the extreme parties in India, but that is a necessary stage that must be gone through in India along with the settling of the communal differences whether the British withdraw to-morrow or give India independence five years hence, or ten years hence.

The position is rendered difficult by the attitude adopted by the Congress towards Muslim demands. Whatever the ultimate settlement may be, and whatever the degree of fear that the Muslims entertain, the Congress Party and other Hindu organizations should at least be prepared to come to a settlement on the communal issue before they insist on a settlement of the Constitutional issue. The Muslims say they must know what their position will be before they are invited to consent to a new Constitution. The Congress reply has so far been that independence must first be achieved, and the communal problem will then settle itself automatically. The Muslim interpretation of an automatic solution is that no remedy need be applied whatsoever. Therefore, that puts them in this position, that if the final transfer of political power from British into Indian hands should take place without a previous settlement of the communal issue, you put the Muslims completely in the power of the majority.

The contribution which the Congress and the Hindu community can make at this stage towards the solution of the communal deadlock is that they can say to the Muslims: "We realize that you are afraid of Hindu domination at the Center. We admit the existence of your fears, though we do not admit their validity. We think your fears of Hindu domination and discrimination against you are exaggerated but we realize that you are afraid. Nevertheless it should be possible for both sides to sit down together and see whether we cannot devise something which, while maintaining the political unity of the whole of India from which undoubtedly certain advantages flow to you as well as to us, might reassure you with regard to your fears. If we succeed in framing something which serves to reassure you then surely you will not insist upon separation. If our joint efforts at finding a solution on the basis of the unity of India results in failure it will then be time enough for you to begin to consider schemes of separation."

If those who represent the Hindu community were to adopt that attitude, I am sure, many sections among the Muslims would be quite prepared to at least consider what solution or solutions could be devised to meet the situation. So long however the attitude of the Hindu community that Muslim fears are baseless and that nothing need be done to set them at rest or at any rate the remedy must be deferred till after the achievement of independence, no solution of the communal deadlock is possible.

These are the elements of the political and communal situation in India. By this time you may have started wondering whether in the circumstances of the Indian situation, both political and communal, the participation of India in the war on the side of the United Nations is of any value at all? I am happy to say, however, that in this respect I have a much more agreeable story to tell you than the one I have told you so far with regard to the constitutional and communal problems. In one word the Government and people of India have been whole-heartedly on the side of the Allies in this war from the very beginning. (Applause.) There has been no question or doubt whatsoever at any time on this point. India is determined to go through with the whole business whatever sacrifices that may involve.

So whenever you contemplate the Indian situation in an attempt to discover a solution of the political problem, and we all hope that a reasonable solution might be discovered as quickly as possible, do not be disturbed by the fear that the situation in India is at any time likely to cause any anxiety with regard to the active prosecution of the war.

With regard to that aspect of the matter, I think that instead of giving you arguments, I had better draw your attention to the facts, from which you will be able to judge for yourselves how much India has contributed to the Allied cause in the war.

Take first, manpower, of which we have indeed plenty. India's own army, that is to say, the Indian part of the army in India, stood at something between 150,000 and 200,000 men when the war broke out, but to-day India has a force of nearly a million and a half. The numbers would be considerably higher were it not for limitations with regard to facilities for training and with regard to modern equipment. We continue to recruit at the rate of 50,000 a month, through our various departments. We are being offered from 70,000 to 80,000 recruits a month but we cannot train or equip more than 50,000 and so we cannot accept a larger number. This is under a purely voluntary system. There is no measure whatsoever of any kind of conscription or compulsion with regard to Indians. The whole thing is purely voluntary.

Then take the matter of the manufacture of arms and amunitions and ordinary industrial manufactures. Of that I have a little more intimate knowledge. From the moment of the outbreak of the war until September of last year, that is to say, for over two years, I was Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of War Supplies, and there too, India's effort has been considerable. I am aware that proportionately this great country of yours has done very much more than India has, but India has also, having regard to its resources and to the handicaps under which it works with regard to plant, machinery, machine tools and so on, done something which we, ourselves, in the beginning did not regard as possible or feasible.

We have, in addition to equipping of our own forces with what we have produced, supplied huge quantities for use in the Middle East and other parts of the world. We have supplied millions of rounds of ammunition, and hundreds of thousands of shells to the Allied Forces. We have started making certain things which we had never made before, not only small items but fairly important articles. For instance, we had never manufactured armoured vehicles in India before but we are now manufacturing these. Our main effort however has been in the multiplication of the items we were already producing. To-day, out of 60,000 items required for the equipment of a modern army, India with its own plants and equipment produces as many as 45,000.

We have been the main base of supply for the Allied Forces in the Near and Middle East, and in South East Asia. Realizing our basic position with regard to supplies we called a conference together in November, 1940, of all countries on the Allied side, South and East of Suez, known as the Eastern Group Supply Conference, over which Conference I had the honour to preside, and as one of the results of that Conference we set up the Eastern Group Supply Council in India which deals with all demands made by the countries southeast of Suez and by the forces in the Middle East.

There are one or two items perhaps which I might mention to give an idea of what we are producing. In clothing we are producing at the rate of 10,000,000 garments a month. We are at present producing at the rate of 4,000,000 pairs of boots a year, and our production of rifles, machine guns, and so on, has gone up many times.

Take another illustration. As a result of our huge supplies for the Allied Forces, apart from our own, for which payment had to be made to us, we have been able to retire the greater part of sterling indebtedness, and it is expected that by April of next year our sterling indebtedness will have been retired and replaced by internal loans and that figure amounts, I think, to not less than five hundred million sterling.

India has equally generously contributed to war loans, charity movements for the relief of distress, the relief of bombed areas and so on. That again is not the picture of a country that has been pushed helplessly into the war and that is feeling bitter and sullen, as I have read in the advertisements in the United States, and that is struggling to get away from its present position. We realize, that for good or for ill, at the moment, our fortunes are bound up with the fortunes of the United Nations, and if the United Nations do not win through, India will slide back to a position of slavery, and will have to begin from zero over again. Indians realize to-day that they have a clear promise of freedom and liberty and it is only a question of a very short time indeed after victory is achieved that India will attain to its due position among other nations of the world as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, as many of us hope, or possibly outside of it, as some of the extremists desire. In any case it will rise to a position of equal partnership with other nations, so as to be able to make its full contribution toward post-war reconstruction, to which each one of us will have to contribute freely if we are together to lay the foundation of a peaceful world. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Your Honour, Sir Muhammad and Gentlemen: I very much regret that I did not announce that this was a joint meeting of The Canadian Club and The Empire Club. It is our custom, from time immemorial, to have such joint meetings, and at one meeting to have the President of The Empire Club preside and the President of The Canadian Club move the vote of thanks, and, at the next meeting to have the President of The Canadian Club preside and the President of The Empire Club move the vote of thanks. To-day is one of our joint meetings, and I have very much pleasure in asking Mr. A. B. Ward, of The Canadian Club to voice our thanks and appreciation.

Mr. A. B. Ward: Your Honour, Mr. Chairman: We have long known that India has had especially complicated and serious problems, but it is all too seldom that we have an opportunity of hearing a lucid presentation of those problems. I am sure it is a matter of interest and satisfaction to us to realize that notwithstanding such problems, India has held her place in the Empire by making a determined and substantial contribution toward the winning of the war.

On behalf of The Empire Club and The Canadian Club, I am very glad to express the grateful thanks of this meeting to Sir Muhammad, and also to wish him, on your behalf, a safe journey on his long passage home.

The meeting is now adjourned. (Applause.)

"BRITISH COLONIES IN THE FUTURE"

An Address By

LORD HAILEY, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Friday, December 18, 1942.

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Last week, His Excellency the Governor-General addressed us on Imperial Unity, suggesting that the unifying element was a bond of the spirit-intangible, almost inexplicable; and yesterday, Chaudhuri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan addressed us on the problems of one of our sister dominions, giving an informative survey which revealed the basic loyalty of India to the Empire; and to-day, we are to be addressed by the Chairman of the Colonial Research Advisory Committee, the very head and front of the modern colonial and dominion policy of unity of purpose by independence of action, if I may so express it.

Lord Hailey is a graduate of Oxford—his course, the good old classics; his college, Corpus Christi, of which he is an Honorary Fellow. And, in tribute to the classics, may I say that of the eighteen Prime Ministers of England between 1837 and 1937, ten were good classical scholars and four others had learned both Latin and Greek.

Lord Hailey has spent much time in London, being a member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, as was also our speaker of yesterday. He was Governor of the Punjab from 1924 to 1928, and from 1928 to 1930 was Governor of the United Provinces.

He is an author of note, and, in 1935 was Chairman of the African Resources Survey, from which, in 1938, came the authoritative publication, "An African Survey". He was from 1935 to 1939 a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and, in 1941, was head of the Economic Mission to the Congo.

Add to these activities the fact that he was, in 1941, Romanes lecturer at Oxford, and the fact that he is at present in Canada as Chairman of the United Kingdom delegation to the International Pacific Relations Conference, which concluded its sessions only this week, and you still have a very inadequate estimate of the qualifications of our guest.

It gives us very much pleasure, Sir, to ask you to address us. Gentlemen: Lord Hailey. (Applause.)

LORD HAILEY: Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club of Canada: My word, that sounds good! That sounds very good to me. Mr. Churchill said the other day we call it Empire, we could call it Commonwealth. I don't care, what I do care about is the thing itself. I like that word *The Empire Club of Canada.*

Now, your welcome to me has been very warm today. I am very grateful for it. The warmth of your welcome makes up for the somewhat frigid character of your atmosphere, which strikes one in some respects, after something like forty years in the East. But even if I felt your atmosphere as somewhat frigid outside, I, like many other people, have received spiritual warmth and comfort from the kind of news we are receiving to-day, that cheers and warms the cockles of one's heart. I do feel indeed that we have reached the turning-point of the war.

Now, need I add what an immense pleasure it is to me to come here. It is my first visit to Canada—indeed, my first visit to this side of the Atlantic—and to come here, above all at a time when we can with truth say we are in a crisis such as we and the world has never seen before.

We in Great Britain are very deeply conscious of the part that Canada has played, very deeply conscious and very grateful. It is not merely on account of your unstinting effort in the recruitment of forces, not merely because of what we know and what we see of all your vast, almost illimitable exertions in the production of munitions, it is not merely that, and if I delay before I go to the main subject on which I wish to speak to you this afternoon, I do wish to add this on my own behalf, as a representative of what I may say are the ordinary people of England, those people of whom Abraham Lincoln once said that God must like ordinary people because he has made so many of them, and we, the ordinary people of England, have a particular reason for this sense of gratitude to Canada. For here was a people which was in itself in no immediate danger from the war. Here was a people which was under no formal obligation to join us as an ally, and yet at once, without hesitation, without restriction of any kind, it threw itself into the conflict on our side.

Now, I want to say how much that conveyed to us of support, of what I might almost call spiritual reinforcement, for you were a people that had a new life and a new vision of your own and it might well be you had thought the age-long conflicts and antagonisms of Europe were of no great concern. But you came in, you came in at once, and we felt here indeed was a proof, here indeed was evidence that we ourselves are not fighting merely to maintain the gains of the past. We were not fighting merely for material purposes, we were not fighting merely for our own lives. We were fighting for a cause common to you and common to us, and here we had witness to it, tangible, powerful witness which no man could gainsay and that, indeed, was a source not only of pride but reinforcement. We knew then that our cause must be just and we felt with new confidence that the cause of justice must prevail.

Now, let me turn to the purpose for which I have to address you to-day.

I often think that if our legislators were quite as careful of our interests as they sometimes pretend to be, one of the first laws they would pass would be to compel a speaker to explain exactly in advance what subject he was going to deal with, and be very precise about it, because it so often happens, particularly when we find a speaker on the air, that he is proceeding some very considerable distance indeed before we decide whether we should or should not turn the knob on him. Now, it may be in announcing the title of my address to you I may have perhaps offended that way myself. Therefore, if I have, I will put myself right straight away.

I am speaking to-day on one portion and one portion only of that great body of nations which makes up the British Commonwealth. It is, I think, proper that we should regard that community of nations as divided into three parts. There is, first of all, of course, that great association which has found legal expression in the Statute of Westminster—the United Kingdom and the great Dominions. As you see, I still use the word *Dominions* because it is an historical word and I wish to be precise, though I think many of us are beginning to feel the need of searching for some other term which would express without any of the old connotations, the kind of partnership for which the Dominions stand.

Second comes India. India, of course, was never a colony, nor considered as such, and an India which is now only waiting the opportunity offered to her of exercising her own choice as to whether she will rank as a Dominion.

Then, in the third case there are the colonial dependencies, that great collection of some forty-five or fifty peoples, numbering in all some 55 millions, scattered all over the world, to which we now give the name of the colonial dependencies. And, of course, it is those and those alone with which I have to deal.

Now, if it had been possible I would have avoided if I could even the use of the word "Colonial", for it has associations, and indeed some people might think it has implications which are not really applicable to them. There are very few of these countries which have ever been colonized in the strict sense. There are of course in the West Indies instances of colonization, though there the colonization has been only partly by Europeans and their present populations largely represent descendents of the ex-slaves who were brought into the country.

Elsewhere you have, as for instance in Africa, some cases that may be said to represent colonization. I will not, of course, speak here of the Union of South Africa, with its population of 2,000,000 white people, nor indeed will I speak of Southern Rhodesia which though technically not a Dominion is entirely self-governing, Southern Rhodesia with 60 thousand white people, but there are in Africa two cases in part—Kenya, with its 20,000 white people, and Northern Rhodesia with 11,000—both of course largely outnumbered by native population. Those are perhaps the only two cases in which I could speak of colonization.

The rest of our colonial dependencies are true native dependencies. If Europeans are there it is very seldom as colonists. There are traders or officials but there, in turn, are very seldom permanent residents.

Now, I have been obliged to give you these details for which I apologize, because I wish to be very precise as to the picture I am drawing, but let me add one other detail, too. All these colonial dependencies, or practically all, are tropical countries, or sub-tropical. All their habits of life, all their civilization is of that character. These countries represent a great diversity of conditions. They came under our jurisdiction over a hundred and fifty years ago in a great variety of circumstances. Now, they represent what has been truly described, I think, as a procession of peoples in which the van is separated by great distances from the rearguard. You will find in the vanguard people such as Ceylon, which has a civilization very nearly akin to that of India. We find the West Indies where, as I have said, there is a population largely of ex-slave origin that has now adapted itself to the ways of European civilization. Then in the rear you have peoples who have only lately come under the administration, only lately come into contact with civilization, many of whom are still leading tribal lives, many, indeed we may say with some justice, only just emerging from a former state of barbarism and learning the ways of citizenship.

Now, one of the results of the war, a somewhat unforeseen and unexpected result, is that much light has lately been thrown on the whole question of colonial dependencies, not only in regard to the British Empire but throughout the world. Everywhere I go I discern a feeling, and particularly in the British Commonwealth itself, for it is that which mainly concerns me to-day, I discern a feeling that there is in the maintenance of these colonial conditions something that is out of accord with the spirit of the British Commonwealth Many people feel there is something wrong in a situation which enables one country to exercise political control over other peoples for its own political advantage or for securing cheap labour for its capitalist enterprises. There is something wrong in a situation which enables it to exercise preference in trade for the benefit of its own colonies. And there are some who feel that this in itself is some source of weakness to the British Commonwealth. There are many who feel, and quite honestly feel that they would join hands with us in this present conflict with greater conviction, with greater confidence if those conditions were altered and if they were more satisfied themselves that an alteration of those conditions would make it clear to them and to the rest of the world, the objects for which we are fighting.

Now, there may be others who have approached this question with different motives—motives, perhaps, of old prejudices, motives born of insufficient knowledge, motives in some cases that have arisen out of their own domestic politics. I will not deal with them. I recognize there is an honest opinion in the British Commonwealth itself, an honest-to-God opinion in the British Commonwealth on this subject, and I wish if I can to give those who entertain those opinions an honest-to-God answer.

Now, I do so, and I take this occasion of doing so, because I think that feelings of that nature really lie at the base of much of the challenge that has been extended to us on the subject of what I call "Imperialism" and "Colonization". If I could give a more precise meaning to those terms it would be that Imperialism is felt to represent the attitude which a stronger nation takes toward independent people, those who are felt to be weak; Colonialism is the term used to describe the attitude taken by a power which controls dependencies and towards its administration of dependent peoples.

Now, let me take Imperialism, first of all, the attitude of a stronger nation toward weaker and dependent peoples. Is there indeed any sign that the United Kingdom is endeavouring to-day to use its strength in order to acquire territory from weaker and dependent people. If there ever had been such a definite policy on the part of the United Kingdom that ended forty years ago. That ended when we yielded to the claim of the Union of South Africa that it should enjoy complete independence. That ended when the British Navy, which had once kept the peace of the world, or at all events had stood in the way of a world war, when the British Navy ceased to hold that position and when it equally failed to hold the position in which it would support any attempt to acquire territory from independent peoples in face of the opposition of the rest of the world. But you may well ask, do we at present use our strength in order to force weaker peoples to give such concessions as would give preference to our own trade, or an advantage to our own nationals?

Looking around the world, I think one might take as a most signal illustration on this point the case of China. For years we, in common with the United States of America, preserved what was known as "open door" policy there. But of course that open door policy did at the same time involve a claim of extra-territorial rights for the protection of our own commoners. To-day, we have waived those claims, completely and unreservedly. I take that as an example. I look around the world and I try in vain to find any other instance in which it could be said that the United Kingdom is endeavouring to use its strength in order to secure unfair advantages from other people for the sake of its own commoners or the sake of its own nationals, and indeed, that temper of Imperialism, it should be understood, is not the temper of our people to-day. We are not a feudal people, preying on others. If it ever was our tradition, certainly it does not represent our condition in the present century. We keep up, it true, certain archaic forms, but that is because we are not without pride in our own past, and we do not desire to break too hastily with it. But there is in Great Britain to-day a state of social equality not less than that of any other nation in the world. There has been of late years in our generation an advance in the provision of social services, in the promotion of all those policies which make for what is now called social security. There has been an advance in safeguarding the conditions of labour. There has been an advance in wiping out all invidious distinctions which stand in the way of men of under-privileged classes gaining equal opportunities in life. All this has been done and has been done on a magnitude very little understood, I think, by many of the other peoples of the world who were apt to look on us as an unduly conservative and a backward-looking people.

Now, a nation so constituted, a nation with such traditions of liberty, a nation with such a social makeup to-day is not a nation that would stand for what used to be called Imperialism.

Now, let me pass on to the question of Colonialism, for here, of course, the real substance of the challenge lies. I must take first the application of that attitude toward India, because of course India is still in some sense, though in a very restricted sense, a dependency of the United Kingdom, in a temporary sense, I might add, but still, technically, it is politically dependent upon the United Kingdom.

Now, I cannot give you here the long history of the measures taken, not of recent years but consistently over a long series of years, which have been directed to the promotion of self-governing institutions in India. You may say that we should have taken an earlier opportunity of offering to India the choice that we have now given her of selecting her own form of constitution, even if that choice should lead to her departing from the Commonwealth. You may say we should have done that at an earlier date. You may say again we should have shown more imagination, perhaps more political adroitness in finding some interim arrangement which will give her immediate contentment in this time of war, until she can exercise this final choice. These things you may say, but you cannot say, and you cannot even with any honesty suggest that that offer to India has not been made with all sincerity and will not be fully implemented. There is in Great Britain to-day no political section, there is no political personage, however high he may stand, who would be able to hold out against the resolution, the determination of the great mass of the people in Great Britain that that undertaking should be implemented, both in spirit and in letter.

Now, in speaking of India I have perhaps gone slightly beyond my subject, and I will deal therefore at once with the question of the Colonial dependencies. Now, if the demand there could be formulated I think it would take three aspects. Emphasis would be laid first of all on the necessity for giving self-government to these people. Secondly, it would be laid on the necessity of the improvement of social conditions,—not merely as an obligation of trusteeship, not merely as one of the duties of humanitarian people—but because the improvement of social conditions, the equalization of the social status of those people with that held by more advanced people is in itself the necessary foundation for a stable form of self-government. You cannot base liberal institutions, you cannot base a representative form of government on stunted bodies. You cannot base it on undeveloped intellects. Vast social improvement is undoubtedly necessary in order that these countries may enjoy a real measure of self-government. Then, thirdly, I think that emphasis would be laid on the necessity of providing some guarantees against what we usually term exploitation of these peoples.

Now, take the point of self-government. We must be clear as to its meaning. It cannot merely mean the immediate liberation of these countries from our control. It cannot mean, for instance, that you should say to the Sultans of Malaya that they are free to resume their rule with all the results of anarchy that formerly characterized that country, and which indeed are the reason why we are there to-day, because we entered on the administration of that country largely in answer to an appeal of the very numerous Chinese immigrants who were suffering from the prevailing anarchy and misrule. You cannot say again we must surrender immediately to the South African tribal leaders the authority they once enjoyed. Many of them, as I said before, are now only just emerging from a state of practical barbarism. It would be a situation which no one could stand if you were to say, in answer to the general conscience of the world, you must surrender control there, even though you might be surrendering to the wrong people. Clearly what self-government means is the achievement of conditions under which a people can manage their own affairs without intervention from outside, but nevertheless in accordance with modern ideas of civilization.

Now, it is just the fact that the granting of self-government has to be so defined that makes it so difficult to contemplate with any honesty meeting the demand that we should fix a predetermined date for the granting of self-government to these colonial dependencies. That self-government should be granted has been affirmed on the highest authority which the British Constitution allows. More than that, it has been our traditional policy with the colonial dependencies, it has always been in our country and it has been in yours. We have done much to achieve it. Ceylon to-day enjoys a degree of self-government which nearly approaches complete independence. There are in the West Indies old parliaments, older than any except the British Parliament, which enjoy powers that are very little restricted and which, indeed, are almost self-governing. But there has admittedly been a lag elsewhere, but if there has been any lag it is largely due to conditions inherent in the nature of the countries themselves, conditions which we have not created but conditions which we are endeavouring to surmount and that we must in time surmount. The effort, believe me, is not wanting there.

Then let me pass on to the second point, the question of the general improvement of the social conditions. Now much has in the past been achieved. I go a little back. When I read what Africa was in the days of Livingstone, or even Mary Kingsley, I realize how spectacular, how dramatic has been the advance in many directions, but I confess that our policy in the past was not directed as dynamically to the improvement of social conditions and the raising of the standard of life as perhaps it might have been. It was directed largely by a sense of trusteeship, a moral concept which pointed rather to the prevention of abuse than to a constructive policy in the improvement of material and social conditions. That is not the case to-day. There are in Great Britain numerous people, not without influence on political life, who now have a new view of these matters. In our own domestic politics we have begun to realize that the state is not merely the guarantor of equal rights, it is not merely there to prevent abuses, the state is to-day recognized in our own domestic policy as the most active agent in promoting social well-being, as the primary agent for securing social security and the improvement of all round conditions of life, and that conception has been projected into the colonial policy also.

Two years ago, in 1940, in the midst of anxieties about the war which were without example in our history, we passed an Act whereby we provided for an expenditure of some £55,000,000 over ten years for social and welfare schemes in the colonial dependencies. Now, when you come to realize how much lower the standard of pay, and the cost of materials and the like is in those dependencies, that sum will be multiplied many times, or perhaps I would say more correctly, it really represents a sum of far greater magnitude. In order to see the scale of it, let me just mention the fact that the normal revenues of these colonial dependencies as a whole amount to between £60,000,000 and £70,000,000 a year. That is, 30 per cent is expended on the social services and these £55,000,000 spent over the course of ten years will be a net addition to that 30 per cent. Now, there, I think, is tangible evidence of the new spirit that is animating Great Britain in this respect, tangible evidence that we have a new conception of our responsibility toward the colonies in regard to their social development.

Now, let me come to the third point, the prevention of exploitation. In endeavouring to define that term I will confine myself to certain concrete propositions. In the first place, exploitation might take the form of giving the trade of Great Britain a substantial preference in the colonial dependencies against the trade of other people. That, of course, would have its own reaction on the standard of living in the dependencies themselves. Now, let me remind you, for some fifty-five years, Great Britain, in company with the rest of the Commonwealth, stood for an open door policy. If, after the last war, we saw reason to depart from that policy, then it was because other peoples closed the door against us, but the institution of a regime of preferences has not meant that the colonial dependencies present a protected area for British commoners.

If I have to give you figures about this it is not because I love figures or statistics, but because it is the shortest way of proving that particular point. Taking the Crown Colonies as a whole, in 1938, out of the total imports taken by them, only 24½ per cent came from the United Kingdom, and 75½ per cent came from the rest of the world. Out of their total exports, only 35 per cent went to the United Kingdom, and 65 per cent to the rest of the world. Therefore, in no sense could it be said that this regime of preferences has established a closed market for British commerce in the colonial dependencies.

Then again it might be said that we receive great advantage from the possession of these dependencies because of our investment in them in the past. The result of such investment of course would mean to-day that the interest of the investments has to take the form of the transfer of war material from those colonies to Great Britain, so, in effect, Great Britain would be receiving raw material without any present policy, though of course, as against past investments extending over some considerable period of past history.

Now, again, I think it has been calculated that the possession of British capital in the colonial dependencies amounts to only £2,500,000 to £3,000,000 and therefore represents only some six or seven per cent of our total overseas investments, and it is only the investment on any which could be represented as going to the United Kingdom and representing imports for which no present payment is required.

But on this question of exploitation of course one has to go further. It is necessary we should see in these colonial dependencies the condition of labour, not only adequate but satisfactory to the people concerned. Now, in the last few years we have passed no less than 130 Acts for regulating the conditions of employment in the colonial dependencies, particularly in regard to such matters as the formation of trade unions, payment of workmen's compensation, and the like, and again it is necessary, in order to avoid exploitation, that we should see that a fair share of the profits made by our capitalist enterprises in the colonies should inure to the benefit of the colonies themselves and not merely to the benefit of the Imperial Exchequer. That is necessary in order that the colonies may have the revenue for the improvement of social services and their lives. In recent years we have largely increased the local income and corporation taxes, though I think that more remains to be done here. I can only quote those as typical. I cannot go through the whole range of matters of that kind. Let me say they are matters very earnestly engaging the attention of people in Great Britain. There are many people who devote great study to them. There are political parties which have sections which give their whole attention to questions of that kind and, believe me, there is in England to-day a spirit which would not stand for exploitation in any form.

The picture is I know greater. There is one figure I must add to it. I feel there is one issue I have not approached. You may say with justice that Great Britain has as yet offered to the world no guarantees regarding the fulfilment of the policy which I have described. You may ask whether Great Britain is to be the sole judge of when a dependent people have become fit for self-government. You may ask whether Great Britain is to be the sole judge of the efforts it is making or the assistance which it is giving in order to insure a higher state of life, of the proper standards of living in the dependencies, whether those endeavours or that assistance is adequate. Is Great Britain to be the sole judge of that? Is there no third party interest in the rest of the world? If you like to put it, is there no third party interest in our partners of the British Commonwealth?

Well, there are many of us who would say at once there is such a third party. We do not believe Great Britain should be the sole judge in these matters. We are prepared to meet that point and this is what we propose. We propose in all the principal areas in which the colonial dependencies fall there should be Regional Councils set up, representing not only the colonial powers but other nations interested in the areas in which the dependencies lie. So far as the Pacific is concerned, the

United States have a substantial interest in maintaining not only security, but social conditions in the dependencies of that area. That Council would have a definite function. It would have no executive power but it would have power of reviewing the progress made periodically, of demanding explanations from the governments themselves. It would have the power of utilizing its own technical advisors in regard to health, economic and similar questions, of using its own technical advisors to say as to the rate of progress made. By mutual consultation, by the pressure of joint opinion, it would do its best to co-ordinate policies, economic, political, and the like, in those areas, and it would, above all, have the great value of bringing to the administration of those areas the test of publicity, the real value, I may say, and perhaps the only real value, in my opinion, possessed by the old mandatory system.

Now, that is what we propose. We do not confine it to the Pacific area. We feel a similar Council should be instituted for the African area and for the West Indian dependencies. That is the manner in which large numbers of us in Great Britain would meet that particular demand, that we should no longer consider ourselves the sole judge in these matters.

Now, I conclude what I fear must have been a somewhat long review of the situation as it appears to me. It may very well be that the picture I have painted to you is not so satisfactory or, shall I say, not couched in such idealistic terms are some would ask. But I have endeavoured to deal with realities, reality of what we have done in the past and reality of what we ourselves believe to be feasible in the future. I do not believe that the picture I have endeavoured to paint to you is one which is out of accord with the spirit which animates the British Commonwealth. I do not feel that it is one which I, at all events, need apologize for. It is after all framed with one aim and one objective only, that we should for the future treat the people of these colonial dependencies, not as our subjects, not even as wards for whom we stand in trust, but as partners in that society of free and equal peoples of which the British Commonwealth of Nations consists. (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Will you, Mr. Willson Woodside, please express the appreciation and thanks of the audience to the speaker?

MR. WILLSON WOODSIDE: Lord Hailey, Mr. President and Members: Lord Hailey's talk comes to us at a most timely moment, when some of our good neighbours to the south are most curiously crying for a British retreat from Empire. A powerful publicist has stated the United States would not fight to keep the British Empire together. A political figure for whom otherwise we have a certain affection has said he is shocked, his countrymen are shocked at Mr. Churchill's declaration of his intention to hold together that loose but contiguous British political development—I might say invention—which saved the world for the same publicist and political leaders only two and a half short years ago. A lot of our good neighbours seem to think that one has only to "praise the Lord and pass the ammunition", and make everybody free, and that is the end of reorganizing the world, but this question of world organization needs a lot more talking over, and I hope we have time to talk it over thoroughly before peace breaks out. Our good neighbours need to realize—they still study the Empire of George the Third in their histories—they have to realize more what the British Empire is to-day and what it is trying to do, and to realize it is not merely an outworn expression of Imperialism in the very bad sense of that word, but in its better manifestations is a pattern, a blueprint, you might say a preview, of that better world organization toward which we are all striving.

Now, I am sure that there are few British spokesmen who could have presented this view to us more completely or more authoritatively than Lord Hailey. I think the members agree with me we have been very fortunate in having him here. Thank you, Lord Hailey. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: I have nothing to add to that vote of thanks, My Lord, so ably proposed by our good friend, Willson Woodside. The meeting is adjourned.

"IMPATIENT IDEALISTS"

AN ADDRESS BY

DR. LLOYD C. DOUGLAS.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, December 22, 1942.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Ladies and Gentlemen: It gives us much pleasure and adds greatly to our satisfaction this afternoon to have with us Mr. Lewis, the Organist and Choirmaster of St. Simon's and his Boys' Choir, who are going to carry on for fifteen minutes. It is a great pleasure for us to have you with us, Mr. Lewis.

Several choral numbers were contributed by the Boys' Choir at this juncture in the proceedings.

Ladies and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Long years ago when political battles were fought on wooden platforms instead of on the air, a speaker, who was being interrupted more than he thought he should be, told his audience that the place to find most sticks was under the best apple tree. This effectually silenced the hecklers. The speaker was a former Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. MacDonald.

Dr. Lloyd C. Douglas has been subject to a considerable amount of criticism for stepping out of the pulpit into the writer's chair. I don't know how large were his congregations in North Manchester, Indiana; in Washington; in Ann Harbor; or even in Los Angeles or Montreal, but I do know that, however large they were, they could not be larger than the congregations to whom he speaks through the written word.

I have read Dr. Douglas' latest book—I trust not his last—and I have enjoyed every word of it, even the odd and rare typographical error, for which, of course, Dr. Douglas is not to blame. That blame, Ladies and Gentlemen, rests squarely upon the shoulders of the Publisher, Mr. Thomas Allen, whom, also, we welcome to our board to-day.

We are inclined to read the four Gospels and the Letters of St. Paul as simply a philosophy of religion and not a flesh and blood story of people who actually lived and moved and had their being, even as we. Mr. Douglas in *The Robe* makes a period of some two years or so, beginning shortly before the Feast of the Passover at the end of which Christ was crucified, a real period. The whole time becomes alive and we see such men as Christ Himself, Stephen, Paul, Tiberius Caesar, Agrippa, Caligula, and the big fisherman Peter, in the flesh. The whole picture of that time is co-ordinated and made to live. Dr. Douglas' other books have an appeal to certain classes, but this book has an appeal to every class and every reader. I am not a book salesman, but I am interested in the circulation of good literature through our public libraries, and, in speaking of *The Robe,* I am simply introducing to you Dr. Lloyd C. Douglas, its author.

Dr. Douglas is a son of the manse. As a child he spent much time with his father with whom he used to travel by horse and buggy when sick calls were being made and funerals conducted and weddings celebrated. As Dr. Douglas himself says, he was an old hand at funerals when he was but eight years of age. He received his preliminary training in English and the Classics from his father, on these very frequent journeys, attended a church school, and graduated in Art from Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. After his ordination into the Ministry he became Pastor of Zion Church in North Manchester, Indiana, and has had several other charges, including that of St. James United Church in Montreal.

He was Chaplain of the First Infantry Brigade in Washington, Director of Religious Work at the University of Illinois; Publicity Director for the United States War Work Council and for the Congregational World Movement. He has been a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* and to *Scribners Magazine.* In 1929 he wrote *Magnificent Obsession,* a book that ran twelve printings in thirteen months and after four years was still a best seller. That was the time in which he occupied the pulpit of St. James in Montreal. He has been honoured with the Doctorate in Divinity by several colleges.

Dr. Douglas has chosen as the subject of his address "Impatient Idealists", and I have much pleasure now, Ladies and Gentlemen, in asking Dr. Douglas to address us. (Applause.)

DR. LLOYD C. DOUGLAS: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a very pretty courtesy of you, in the midst of Christmas preparations, to ask me over here to say something. I was so very glad to come. While I am a Yankee by birth, and pretty largely by training and residence, I do have a good many Canadian connections. For instance, three young gentlemen have honoured me by becoming my grandsons. They are Canadians over in Montreal, and I find that they still speak to me and consider me approximately the same way they would if I lived up here.

I have two sons-in-law who are Canadians. Dr. Howard Dawson, of the Royal Victoria Hospital and McGill Medical School is a son-in-law. By the way, you might think it fun to know how my daughter Virginia and Howard got acquainted. *Magnificent Obsession* has been so pleasantly referred to here, I think I should say when I wrote the book it was strictly experimental. I had never written one before and I didn't know how to do it. A good many of my critics think I don't know yet. That is alright, because I admit it myself. I am still experimenting, but when I wrote *Magnificent Obsession* I knew I didn't know how and just proceeded from day to day. And then the little trick of naming characters in a book is not quite so simple as you might think, if you have never tried it. You must avoid using the name of anybody you know, because they will try to associate themselves somehow with this character, and even if the character behaved immeasurably to their credit, they don't like it.

Now, I was about to name a character in *Magnificent Obsession* and I needed the name of a young doctor who had been given leave on a Fellowship to spend a year in Europe, at Vienna, as it happened, because there was a time when if you hadn't been to Vienna for a little while to study with the doctors, you were hardly fit to put your shingle out. We have changed our ideas about things like that but there was a time, a foolish time, when we thought we had to be polished off over there. This young doctor in the book had taken his young bride along with him and for a little while she had become one of the leading figures in the piece, and now I had got to the point where I had to name these people. I was in Los Angeles that morning and I had a letter from a man in London. It was on hotel stationery, which made me think he didn't live in London, which turned out to be true. He asked me a question about something he had seen quoted from me in a magazine and the reply required only about three lines. He was on the other side of the Atlantic and I was on the edge of the Pacific and I never was going to see him and I knew that his name, *Dawson,* would be fairly safe to use, so I named my people in the book *Dawson.*

After the book had been out nearly a year my daughter, Virginia, was in school in Paris and she met a doctor who was doing some special studies in radium at the Madame Curie Institute, for McGill University. They got acquainted with each other and they were married and his name was *Dawson,* and he was the son of the man who wrote me the letter.

Now, sometimes they accuse novelists of coincidence. I would say this was one of the most spooky and uncanny demonstrations of that much abused strategy that I know anything about. These Dawsons, by the way, are still getting on very happily, and I feel that things have worked out very well indeed.

I have another Canadian son-in-law, a mining engineer out in Nevada. They live out there and I am going to spend New Year's with them. Well, that is enough about me. I am very grateful for the nice commercials you gave me about those books. Every time one of them is sold I get 37½ cents.

You, Sir, have also pleasantly spoken about the new book, *The Robe,* and may I pause one moment to say, not in any spirit of advertising, but only because you mentioned it—(Laughter)—Can't you take a joke?—after I began work on this thing I found that we needed some maps in the book, a map of the Roman Empire in the first century, and when we got it drawn we discovered it was a map of Hitler's Europe, all but Britain. It ceases at Britain. I think Hitler has given that up. The similarity between the state of the world at that time and ours is shocking. The Roman Empire was gathered up by the same string of causes—ruthless savagery, and the Fifth Columnist activities of Quislings. It came about by the same process. Indeed, when I was working on the book sometimes I had a great temptation to peek around the curtain and say, "You will see this thing again sometime". But of course I couldn't do that. It wasn't a tract, it was a novel, and to do that I had to go back to A.D. 37 and unpack, and stay there a couple of years. I got so I was almost tempted to date my own current letters with A.D. 37.

Your fathers and mine when they came over here to this country developed out of their hardship and their faith and fortitude what came to be known generally as "the American way of life". Now, occasionally I think we bumbled a little in our phrases and sometimes *America* means the States, but it never has meant that to me, and I don't believe it does to very many of the people with whom I associate. Canada and the States are America, and when I refer to the American way of life, I mean the way of life that our people developed.

Well, they came by an American way of life. It was founded on neighbourliness and indiscriminate generosity and good sportsmanship and social equality, and after a while it became known the world around that this was a great land of opportunity, and migrants came from the four corners of the earth to share our faith and freedom. Some came late and shared the freedom and not the faith, but for the most part the people from whom we in this company derive represented the new way of living. Of course it wasn't too hard for them because this land was a land of rich resources. We had everything on our side. It was easy for us to find a real prosperity. So we developed this American way and after a while we wanted all the other people in the world to share it. We organized missionary endeavours that went through all the world with great success. There never was such a wide variety of implements used—agriculture, medical, educational—what you like. We took the manual arts, we took religion, we took everything we had and scattered it all over the world, hoping people would get a new angle on Christian civilization. We talked about it as "carrying Christian civilization to the people of the whole world". What we were carrying was the American way of life.

After a while we became so confident of what we were doing that it came to pass at the turn of the century that thousands of earnest young collegians in the States and Canada had organized a Student Volunteer Movement, whose slogan was, "The evangelization of the world in this generation", meaning in their generation, and they meant and were entirely in earnest about it.

Then came the first World War and knocked that brave aspiration into a cocked hat. Seeing it was a war to end all wars they accepted it as a righteous necessity and went to it. They said, "If this thing has to be done, we will do it now and get it over with". As we had said about the evangelization of the world, "If the world needs to be evangelized, let us go and evangelize it and be done with it".

Well then after the first World War we decided that we would go back now to our peacetime pursuits as rapidly as possible and we scrapped our armies and scuttled the boats and converted everything into peacetime production. We were never very well fixed to produce implements of destruction, we were very much more concerned with implements of a constructive nature.

And now comes this thing! Not advertised as a war to end all wars, but a confirmation of the fact that the world hadn't got along as far as we thought it had.

We, in this new land, where people had lived in freedom and peace and neighbourliness, felt that the world had made a very great deal of progress, but after all we have to remember that it is a great deal easier to be generous and magnanimous and sportsmanly on the banks of the St. Lawrence than it is on the banks of the Danube or the Ganges.

Yes, that old worn-out world, old worn-out soil, old worn-out ideas and old inherited feuds—I suppose we will have to be very patient, but it is very hard to be patient with anything at the beginning of life. At my time of life I am a little more benign about everything. Maybe I am getting lazy, maybe I am becoming philosophical. I can see how we must be patient. The trouble is we wanted too much too soon. We wanted the world to go too fast, we wanted everybody to be like ourselves. We wanted everybody to be happy and free, and a lot of conditions wouldn't permit that in other places. I am not discounting the evil intent of many, many men who have been at the head of the forces that have been trying to tear the world apart, but after all, thousands upon thousands of people over there would love to be happy and love to be free and love to be at peace. They can't very well help the present predicament they are in.

Well, sometimes I have tried to analyze the causes of our impatience. Sometimes I believe evolution befuddled us a good deal. You know, we used to think the human race came to pass by Divine fiat, by the creation of a certain man in an ancient garden. Jehovah did something like that, and here was Adam. Then after a few days or a few years for a little indiscretion he was thrown out of the garden and all theology and all culture has been trying to get him back in the garden. That is the short way to put it.

Then along came evolution with a little different idea. Evolution didn't have a man start, full-powered, in the garden. It had him start down with the tadpoles or lower. Then he came through a series of circumstances and environments, and obstacles, and he found that to live in friendship was much better than to live at war, and he came to the point where he developed a new civilization and we got to thinking that evolution had brought us pretty close to the top. We didn't have very much farther to go. We thought we had heard the whistle blow for Utopia. And that wasn't so.

You know, evolution, after all, isn't this benign thing that some people thought. It isn't one undeviating sweep from dust to glory—not by any means. Evolution, if it gets a chance, will throw you. Evolution, if it develops momentum in a certain direction, will keep on going until it has a paralyzing effect.

For instance, in any good natural history museum you can go and see in a glass case, or spread out all over a lobby, a reconstructed skeleton of a mastodon. Ages ago the mastodon bred for longer and larger tusks. That was all that mattered—just tusks—and they went around mumbling about tusks and telling their children to avoid having to do with children that didn't have a promise of large tusks, and then were sent to school where they would associate with children of people with larger tusks. They didn't ask about anything but tusks. After a while the tusks got so long and heavy that they couldn't keep their hind feet on the ground and the whole thing went out of business.

You will see in the museum a skeleton of a thing called the ship lizard, that bred for long spines. The thing was to see how long a spine you could grow. They started in for defensive purposes and bred for longer spines and longer spines until after a while the centre of gravity was too high and the whole thing capsized and all the better lizards were eaten up by the proletarians.

That thing has been going on in the jungle for a long, long time. Of course it is possible for us to switch from automatic to manual in certain phases of evolution and produce about what we want. Not very long ago in a midwestern university the Animal Husbandry Department announced they were now prepared to offer a custom built hog. They had been breeding for heavier hams and slenderer legs, and just kept on with that treatment until the hogs couldn't get up any more and they had to put their legs back on again.

A few years ago some man made an airship, a heavier than air ship. It developed such strength and speed that it was able to fly over a neighbouring nation with a bellyfull of explosive bombs, and now the thing is for us to breed the bombs out of the airship, because the airship is here to stay and unless we are very careful the bombs will be too. That is part of our job now.

Evolution isn't to be relied upon to carry us forward. Sometimes we have confused the whole business of Christian civilization and evolution, thinking it is maybe all about the same thing. They aren't at all. Evolution is a ruthless thing. The trouble with me is I want to see things happen while I am here. I am the only important thing in the world. The meridians of latitude and longitude bisect underneath my feet. The true north is north of me, and my time is the correct time. That is the kind of fellow I am. That is the kind of fellow you are. That is the way we are rigged up and we don't like to contemplate a world in which we are not present. We want to see things happen while we are here. That is what makes us terribly impatient and restless and unhappy, because we can't see things happen faster. The whole business of time—we dread time because we are in the grip of it.

According to actuarial figures, I have eight years, nine months and sixteen days to go. I may beat that a little because I come from long-lived stock. Or I may not make it because I am still fool enough to drive my own car. The fact is my tenure is rather short. I want to see things happen while I am here. I get dreadfully impatient because things don't happen any faster. One thing we shy off at is time. We don't know anything about time. We won't know anything about time, even in little short sections. You know, you can pick up a colour in your memory and match it at the store down town, and some of you can point to a flag-pole and say, "It is 85 feet", or you can lift a weight and say "It is 82 pounds". Nobody knows anything about the measurement of time. That is because we are afraid of it. We don't like to think about it. An hour at a circus or an hour pacing the floor in front of the surgical operating room is not the same at all. The four years between 18 and 22 are not the same as the four years between 58 and 62. They have no relation at all. Even three minutes—three minutes on the long distance phone, talking to your sweetheart, and three minutes boiling an egg, and three minutes in a ring with Joe Louis—they aren't the same thing at all. Time—we don't know anything about it. How silly we are to try to listen to hear evolution's clock strike, or watch the hands to see if they will move on evolution's dial. O, no, it is slow business. We must be patient. We must wait.

Did you ever go to a Dog Show? O, you must have! Well, did you notice even at the Dog Show that when the Judges were coming down the line and were about to approach the little platform where Mr. Throckmorten was about to exhibit his beautiful Irish Setter, Lambie Pie, that he put one hand under his dog's chin, and with his other hand held out the tip of Lambie Pie's tail, which was not a natural stance, or Lambie Pie would have taken it without assistance.

Now, what was going on? Mr. Throckmorten wanted Lambie Pie to stand the way Mr. Throckmorten thought he would stand if he were Lambie Pie.

I will tell you about my dog. He is a Boxer, a very friendly fellow. His name is Marcus. Marcus is a privileged dog, if ever there was one. Our family is more or less demobilized and when the children are all gone people get silly about a dog or a cat or almost anything—maybe a bird. Well, Marcus is a privileged dog. He has a zipper on his mattress to facilitate the refilling with cedar shavings. His food comes from a dog delicatessen and is delivered in a blue delivery waggon, with gold letters on the side that says, "Doggie Dinnie". And his food costs more than my board did when I was in college. Marcus has had some cosmetic surgery to improve the appearance of his ears and his tail. He was not consulted about this, either before or after. We never learned how he felt about it. Apparently he was not resentful because he is very amiable, especially when he is out playing in the mud, although that may not be intentional.

Marcus has learned some little tricks. He will retrieve a ball. We say, "Go, get your ball, Marcus"—sickeningly sweet, as if we were talking to a baby or a radio audience. He goes and gets his ball. He doesn't know it is his ball. Maybe he thinks it is our ball, and that he is entertaining us. He will jump up through a hoop if you have a piece of candy in the other hand. He is a privileged dog, I tell you. He probably has a higher standing of living than almost any dog 25 years ago, and certainly than any dog in Tunisia to-day.

Well, it is a dreadful thing when you have done too much of everything for a dog like that and go out some time in the afternoon looking for him and find him at your neighbour's, with his hind quarters protruding from their garbage can. Then we begin to think about all the investment we made in Marcus, all the little acts of kindness and friendship, how we came to his relief when he needed us. There was never an emergency when we were not there standing by him, and to be let down like that! We are ashamed we ever had any part in his life. But after all, whose fault is that? Certainly not Marcus'. His behaviour is about normal for a dog. The trouble is we want Marcus to act the way we think we would act if we were dogs.

Now, I hope I am drawing no invidious comparisons when I say, for instance, that the little people in the Pacific to whom we carried machinery of all sorts, and education and hospitals and everything—thinking that maybe because they wore our clothes they shared our idealism — were interested in breeding for heavier tusks and larger spines all the time, that they didn't want our idealism. They never had the slightest notion of accepting it.

Well, that is a pretty serious disillusionment. But after all, who is that joke on? It is on us. We meant it well but we expected too much, as at home we probably expected too much of Marcus.

Then there was another bright nation on whom we had counted for a very considerable amount of participation in the world culture, and we found out that really they didn't share our idealism at all. They weren't looking for the same things.

I got talking to a doctor the other day about insulin and if you had never done anything else here but insulin, it wouldn't have been a bad job. We got talking about insulin, and he said, "You know all the time those men in Toronto were working on that chain of experiments on insulin, the Germans were following the same string of experiments, and the Germans didn't get it and the Canadians did get it and the reason was because the Germans were examining the precipitate for the makings of their serum and the Canadians were examining the filtrate.

And then he went on to say, "I think that is what is the matter along the line. The Germans have been throwing the valuable things away. They have been keeping the wrong thing."

One way to look at human progress is as if it were set up on a series of planes, and in that progress there will be a half dozen generations laid end to end in which era they will be doing about the same things. They will be born in grandfather's house and take a great pride in tradition. They will organize constitutions, charters, creeds and conventions, and that will be all very nice. And then someday, some Tuesday, about two, when nobody is looking for it, everything goes to pieces at once, and they start up on a 45 per cent grade to another plane.

O, that will be tough for a time. Maybe for four or five years, maybe for ten or twenty, or occasionally for a hundred. Then, eventually, they come out on another plane, write off their losses, tie up their bruises, thank God for a short memory, and start in on another plane, and there settle down again and begin to have respect for schools and banks and churches and universities, and they adopt some new constitutions and charters and creeds and conventions, and carry on for about four or five or six generations. Then when everything is going very peacefully, very smoothly, and life has taken on orderly ways and settled down to little groups of traditions which they rely on, then they want to be careful, because some unannounced day, another Tuesday, they will start on another grade.

Now, we are taking one of those grades, and the question isn't: Are you coming along? The question is: How are you coming along? Are you going to regard it as a cross to bear or a game to play? Are you going to say, we have come to a crisis, or are you going to say this is one step on the way up toward some stupendous dawn?

The Master of us all admonished us to be of a little more stability in our attitude toward what He called the Kingdom, the coming in of the type of life that would make for freedom and peace and joy. He said there would always be some people who would be exalted almost unto hysteria by some bright moments, some apparent victory, some portent of good news, and they would say, "Here comes the Kingdom".

And then another cloudy day comes along, when Marcus has been in the garbage again, and we are disillusioned, and everything gone to pieces, we say, "There goes the Kingdom".

Jesus said every man would be in charge of his own little Kingdom. He can gladly watch it come. or he can sadly watch it go. It is his and he can do what he likes with it. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Douglas, it is taking two of us to-day properly to thank you, Sir—the present President, to introduce you; and the Immediate Past President, to thank you. I am going to ask Mr. Sanderson, Chief Librarian of the City of Toronto, Immediate Past President of the Club, to thank you for your address. (Applause)

MR. C. S. SANDERSON: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Coupling Mr. MacBeth's reference to me as the Immediate Past President with Dr. Lloyd Douglas's, Sir, I would almost say reminiscences of primitive life, reminds me that I had always been led to believe that an Immediate Past President was one of the lowest forms of animal life.

Sir, I am glad that you don't share that view, because it gives me the happy opportunity of saying to Dr. Douglas, on behalf of this audience, and on behalf of that enormous audience which has been listening to him on the air, as nice a "Thank you" as I can. I do it, Sir, happily and gladly, because of my feeling of personal regard.

I don't know how you do it. I am sure every one in this room has been studying your personality whilst you talked, but somehow you do manage to create and spread and make everyone feel that atmosphere of kindheartedness and geniality which is you. And that you should come and talk to us just at this Christmas time and bring us this kind of feeling is a particularly great favour to The Empire Club of Canada.

Then, Sir. I don't know what one should say about your address. You have given us thoughts to ponder.

The keynote of your talk is patience, understanding, the thought of the other fellow's point of view, and I think, Sir, it is quite right that many of us do not think of the working man, except when he is out of work. Perhaps many of us do not think enough about Christianity, except at church time, and perhaps many of us do not think enough about the less fortunate in the world, except at Christmas time, and you have done that brilliant thing without talking about Christmas. You have left us with a Christmas atmosphere.

The President referred to your book. I think, Sir, I would like to say that though it is a religious book, it is not a religious book. Though it is an historical book it is not an historical book, because it is much more than that. It is a human book and it has pathos, it has drama, and it has, as you confessed yourself to me a little while go—some months ago—it also has a stream-lined conversation, and I think I might let this audience in on what may be a secret. They can tell how appealing the book is when we know it will be featured as one of the leaders of the cinema features in a relatively short time.

So I am happy to-day, Sir, to be able to say "Thank you" to an author who at first challenge walked right into the centre of the halls of literary fame, yet, Sir, a famous author who is unchanged, unspoiled, has no self-conceit, has no self-pride, is just himself, never changing, an author we are glad to know, a man we are glad to know, a man we are better for knowing, and Ladies and Gentlemen, a man I think we are better for having listened to to-day. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Ladies and Gentlemen: As most of you know, we publish these addresses in the form of a Year Book at the end of each season. Last season we published this book, the Addresses 1941-42. It was the product of much patience, much work, and I want on behalf of the Club to present to you, Dr. Douglas, one of these books. You will carry it away with the portrait of the Immediate Past President. The portrait was made by the Chairman of our Speakers' Committee this year, Mr. Eason Humphreys. I have much pleasure, on behalf of the Club, in presenting you with this book.

And Mr. Lewis, we have a copy of this book also for you. We thought you might be interested in it. On behalf of the Club I have much pleasure in presenting you with a copy of the last Year Book.

The meeting is adjourned.

"OUR MOST SECRET HOPES"

AN ADDRESS BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW, K.C., M.P.P.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, January 7, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: It is my privilege to present to you to-day as guest-speaker a very distinguished member of the Club, one who just ten years ago occupied the Presidential Chair, and who has shown his continued interest by returning to us on many occasions and giving us the benefit of his studies and observations.

Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Drew is a veteran of the 1914-1918 War, an officer of artillery. He is a student by instinct, a lawyer by profession, and a statesman by natural development. He is also a writer and I am inclined to think that the urge there may have come from one of the Beatitudes in the 5th Chapter of St. Matthew: "Bless them which persecute you".

George Drew received his introduction to politics in his native city of Guelph, where he was a member of Council from 1922 to 1924, and Mayor in 1925. From that beginning he has gone up to the larger field of provincial affairs where he is now Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the Province of Ontario.

One has to say something in an official capacity in introducing a speaker but even this in many ways was not really necessary to-day. Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in presenting to you Colonel George A. Drew;

his subject, "Our Most Secret Hopes". But before Colonel Drew speaks, may I say that Dr. Edward Johnson, Manager of the Metropolitan Opera Association in New York, Colonel Drew's father-in-law, is with us here to-day. (Applause.)

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE A. DREW: Mr. Chairman, Members of The Empire Club: You have done me a very great honour indeed by inviting me to make the first address to The Empire Club for the year 1943. I appreciate the honour doubly because you have been kind enough to again invite one of your members to speak on this occasion. I last spoke to you just after I had returned from Britain a little more than a year ago. I attempted to convey to you then my impression of the magnificent spirit of the people of Britain in the face of very great adversity and with little but faith in themselves to justify their confidence in the future.

Now, as we enter the year 1943, the scene is very different. The Germans and their partners-in-crime are tasting the bitter medicine which they thought so good for the rest of the world. In a New Years' message to his own people Hitler has assured them that he never really wanted war. Certainly he never wanted this kind of a war. The brilliant exploits of the British Eighth Army; the dramatic occupation of the North African seaports by forces from the United States carried from Britain by the greatest armada in all history under the protection of the powerful guns of the British Navy; the tremendous hammer blows of the mighty Russian Armies along the whole battle line from the Baltic to the distant Caucasus; the American Naval successes in the Pacific, the ever heroic fortitude of the Chinese resistance to Japan; and the constant pounding of Germany and Italy by ever-increasing numbers of aircraft in which so many of our own young Canadians are flying with sublime courage and incomparable skill; all these, and many other encouraging reports come to us at the turn of the year. They make this a period, not so much of rejoicing as of confidence in the outcome of the cruel struggle which may yet be very long and bring to us as a nation suffering much greater than we have yet known. But while there is increasing reason for confidence on every hand, we would be most unwise to forget that victory will only be won when our enemies are beaten to their knees on their own soil. If there is to be any lasting peace and not merely another armistice, our enemies must not be permitted this time to call quits when they know they cannot win and then begin to prepare all over again for the next war. There is every reason to believe that the United Nations are determined that this will not happen again. The road to final victory is still therefore long and hard. But long though it may be and hard though it is sure to be, the time has come when we have sufficient reason for confidence to begin to draft at least the preliminary blueprints of that better world which will emerge after the war.

As we Canadians look to the days beyond the war and contemplate the steps we must take to assure peace, security and prosperity for the people of Canada, it seems clear that one of the very first things we must decide beyond all question is the nature of the relationship which is to exist between Canada, Great Britain, and other parts of the British Empire. Until we have reached a decision upon that point it will be extremely difficult if not impossible to reach other decisions affecting our relationship with other nations.

A very wise Frenchman wrote these words: "This is the time for every nation to come to an agreement with its own most secret hopes." Now that the pattern of victory is beginning to take form I think these words apply with particular force to the people of Canada. We Canadians must come to an agreement with our own most secret hopes regarding the future of our nation. That the hopes differ goes without saying. It will take much frank discussion if we are to know exactly where we stand.

It is no longer possible to ignore the speech of some Canadians who make it clear that they hope we will sever all connection with Britain when the war is over. That is their right in a free country. But I believe it will avoid future misunderstanding if those who believe the very opposite leave no doubt whatever about their own determination that Canada shall continue to be a vigorous member of the British partnership.

I think that many of us have been taking the British connection far too much for granted. We seem to ignore the fact that there is active anti-British propaganda in this country, no matter how much evidence we see that it actually exists. And above all we seem to forget that there is no magic in the air or soil of Canada which will make our youth grow up with faith in the British partnership simply because they are born here. That requires education. When we see what has been done to the minds of German youths by evil teaching, we should make doubly sure that the teaching in our schools lays a firm foundation for the loyalty of our own youth to Canada and to the King as the living symbol of our free and decent way of life. If the British partnership is worth maintaining, then we should insist that the history of that partnership and the extent to which we have benefited by the association in the past should be recognized as one of the most important subjects taught in our schools.

But it is not our youth alone who need to be told these things. All Canadians should keep in mind that the building of the British Empire has been an experiment under one flag in solving the very problems which must be solved for the whole world if victory this time is to be something more than an armistice between wars. There have been many mistakes. There has been much selfishness. But what society anywhere can boast that it has been entirely free from those very human weaknesses? On the other hand there has been steady advancment, yes, even rapid advancement, compared with the slow upward sweep of man's social progress through the centuries. Many men have willingly laid down their lives upon the altar of that high ideal. The good far out-balances the bad. The favorable credit balance of the British partnership stands very high indeed.

There was more than British interest behind Mr. Churchill's statement that he was not prepared to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. The continuance of that great fellowship of free people is of the utmost importance to the whole world as a practical demonstration of the fact that widely separated communities of different race, colour and creed and social development can work together for their common good. The Empire represents a cross section of the very sort of association which must be achieved throughout the whole world in the interests of mankind.

In the Empire itself there will be sovereign self-governing nations, others with some form of government nearing complete independence, and some communities removed by only a few years from savagery and cannibalism with a considerable period of education still ahead of them. The same is true elsewhere. If the Empire with its record of steady achievement were to be dissolved, there would be little encouragement for others to establish similar relationships between many diverse peoples with no background of common interest.

Surely all of us have learned by now that isolation is the surest way to invite war and the possibility of destruction. If democratic governments are to preserve the fruits of victory they must abandon any thought of isolation and overcome its twin evil, indecision. We have been learning the hard way that the nations of the world are dependent upon each other for the exchange of goods and services which will maintain employment and prosperity. There is much talk of personal security and in that respect Britain has given challenging leadership to the whole world in the recommendations of the Beveridge Report. But there can be no personal security in a vacuum, and those who promise personal security and fail to plan for the international security and international trade upon which personal security must depend, are guilty of cruel and heartless dishonesty to those who accept their promises.

All security depends upon collective action and for us collective action begins within the British Empire. Our partnership is no mere sentimental association of a relic of colonialism. On the contrary the very existence of the partnership is evidence of the maturity and full contractual powers of the partners. It has been of mutual benefit to the members in the past. It can be of far greater benefit in the future.

But in all partnerships there are obligations as well as benefits. In the future I believe the British people throughout the world should look upon their association as a family partnership, maintained on a strictly business basis, with some form of guiding committee meeting regularly to settle all questions of common concern. Something of that kind is, I believe, the first step which must be taken if there is to be a sound foundation for the personal security which our people rightly demand and to which they are entitled.

In what I have been saying to you I have used the expression "British Empire". I recognize that there are some who insist that it should be replaced by the words "British Commonwealth of Nations". Others go so far as to condemn the use of the word "Empire" in the strongest language. Only a few weeks ago, for example, the *Winnipeg Free Press* went so far as to say that, "to proclaim to the world that the magnificent effort of the British nations is the achievement of an "Empire", is to give support and encouragement to our enemies with whom we are at war." I merely quote this as a specific example of that point of view which contends that it is our duty in Canada to abandon the use of the word Empire entirely.

In view of this violent conflict of opinion I think that it is not only important that we come to a clear understanding in regard to the British partnership but also that we should, if possible, come to some understanding and agreement about the terms we use. In that ancient storehouse of wisdom, the Book of Job, we read: "How forcible are right words!" We have been told on many occasions that words are weapons. It would be useful if we could all use the same words to describe the same things. But it is a little difficult for many Canadians to agree that we are giving support and encouragement to our enemies by using the word "Empire" when as recently as Christmas Day the King spoke to the men serving overseas of, "the importance and meaning of those outposts of Empire which the wisdom of our forefathers selected and which your faithfulness will defend."

It is also difficult to accept the argument that this term is not acceptable to Canadians when we recall that Winston Churchill several times referred to the Empire in his memorable speech to the Canadian House of Commons just over a year ago. That stalwart champion of true democracy did not hesitate to proclaim to the world that the magnificent effort of the British nations was the achievement of an "Empire", and you will recall that his speech was greeted with tumultuous applause. I am prepared to accept Mr. Churchill's judgment as to what will give support and encouragement to our enemies.

We are told by some that with the passing of the Statute of Westminster the correct term to describe what has been known as the British Empire then became the British Commonwealth of Nations. That is a complete misconception of the wording or the effect of the Statute of Westminster. But since the confusion does exist and since it is clear that in all sincerity people disagree upon this point, then it is important that we try to understand the words we use and I hope you will pardon me if I attempt to make a brief analysis of the effect of the Statute upon this very question.

It is a short Act of twelve sections which was passed in 1931 to give effect to certain resolutions and declarations which had been approved by all the delegates to the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930. It did not limit the effect of the earlier declarations or resolutions adopted unanimously by those two Imperial Conferences in any way, but dealt only with those which it was thought called for statutory enactments to give them full effect. In that Act the term "British Commonwealth of Nations" was used to describe the free association of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland. That was not the first time that term had been employed and its meaning was not open to doubt. The relationship of the self-governing nations to each other and their position within the Empire was clearly defined by the first declaration of the report adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1926. It is usually referred to as the "Balfour Declaration." It was approved by the delegates from Britain and all the Dominions including Canada. Referring specifically to Great Britain and the Dominions, the declaration read as follows: "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or internal affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It perhaps should be recalled that this Declaration in itself was merely a definition of the already existing constitutional status. It is difficult to understand how anyone can be in doubt about what that Declaration means. Britain and the Dominions were described as a commonwealth of free nations within the British Empire. Instead of conveying any impression that the words "British Commonwealth of Nations" were substituted for "British Empire," the Declaration made it clear that those nations which form the commonwealth are communities within the larger fellowship of the British Empire. Each expression has a clear meaning which should not be confused. If one is referring to Britain and the Dominions exclusively, then the correct expression is the "British Commonwealth of Nations". If, on the other hand the intention is to refer to that very much larger group of people in India, Africa, and elsewhere, who have not yet reached the status of complete self-government, then the correct term is "The British Empire". Nor is the only limitation upon the territory covered by the words "British Commonwealth of Nations" that of self-government. Beyond the territory of Britain, the Dominions, and India, the words "British Empire" include such places as Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, Gibraltar, and Bermuda and we should thank God that it does because they have played a vitally important part in the defence of freedom, not only for ourselves but for all the rest of the world which is still free. The words of the King on Christmas Day were full of meaning when he spoke of the wisdom of our forefathers in selecting those outposts of Empire.

I think there are ever increasing reasons why we should be proud to use the words "British Empire" in describing the achievements of the British people in this war and I think there are important reasons why we should employ that term as the one which correctly describes the larger fellowship which we believe will continue to be associated under the British Crown in the future.

If it had not been for the supreme gallantry of the people of Malta themselves and for the gallantry of many young men who have gone there to preserve against terrible odds that island bastion of freedom in the Mediterranean, it is unlikely that British forces could have withstood the German attack on Egypt reinforced as they would have been without interference across the Mediterranean. Many young Canadians have added new pages of glory to Canada's proud record in the air. Young men like Beurling from Verdun, Griffiths from Niagara Falls, and many others of that gallant company, have done deeds of valour from that island base in keeping with the proud tradition of chivalry, decency and honour associated with the name of the gallant knights of Malta. You will have read to-day that 955 enemy planes were destroyed during 1942 by the defenders of Malta alone. That gives some small hint of what Malta means to the Empire and to decent people everywhere.

If Gibraltar had not stood strong and powerful defending the entrance to the Mediterranean and providing an assembly base for the great ships of the British Navy, General Eisenhower's forces could not have achieved those dramatic successes in North Africa which have given a new form and pattern to the war. If Cyprus, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had not been held, German forces could have moved with freedom across the Eastern Mediterranean and have changed the whole history of this war. And to go farther west, if Bermuda had not been available as a refueling point for great aircraft crossing to and from Europe, those frequent and rapid contacts between the leaders of Britain and the United States, which have played such an important part in the course of this war, might have been impossible.

And above all, what would have happened to China and what would have happened to Russia if the people of India had not stood firm and loyal? That is something we should keep in our minds and it is something which should be brought to the attention of those who have suddenly become so solicitious that India should be freed from what they term "the British yoke".

Far too much of a critical nature has been said about the British position in India without reply from those who believe that there is more reason for praise than criticism. We have every reason to proclaim our pride that the Indians themselves have given the best possible evidence of their attachment to the British connection and a deep feeling of comradeship with all of us in the common struggle for freedom.

Those who talk now of India being held by force against their will under British rule are talking nonsense. True, Gandhi and a few of his associates were restrained when they advocated a course which would have led to the certain occupation of India by Japan as was explained to us by a great Indian jurist here only a few weeks ago. That could not have been done if Indians themselves had not believed that such restraint was wise. There is a splendid Indian Army of more than 1,500,000 men, armed and equipped for modern war with the assistance of Britain herself. They are men of magnificent physique. Do you think a few thousand Anglo-Saxons in India could impose their will by force upon that powerful Army whose men have fought with such superb heroism and determination against the armies of Germany and Italy in Egypt, Libya and elsewhere? Of course they could not. That Army is serving under the British Flag of its own free will. There is no better proof of their continuing friendship.

We have no reason to be ashamed of the present British policy in India. There have been mistakes as there have been mistakes in every other part of the world in the slow evolution of the democratic process. I would like to quote from a book by that great American historian, published in 1940, under the title "Empire On the Seven Seas".

May I read you a little of what he has to say about India because it shows so clearly that there is a well-informed American viewpoint quite different to that which on some recent occasions has been expressed about the Indian situation. These are his words: "India is different from any other part of the Empire and is almost a world in itself. That it cannot yet be accorded full Dominion status and responsible government is evident but the nationalization of its people must somehow be met. Whether this new and honest effort to do so and to train its people in self-government will be successful cannot yet be forecast. The problems of every sort are both unique and colossal. . . . India is one of the greatest Oriental countries and the British effort to educate it politically may well prove the focus of the Occidental-Oriental clash or the working out of some sort of harmony between East and West."

These words were written early in the war before India had really been put to the test. Now that she has stood so firm and Indian troops have fought so bravely under the British Flag on many fronts, I think we have reason to hope that the latter alternative provides the answer and that India, which already has a very great degree of free constitutional government, will find a solution of its own great internal problem and emerge as a free and mighty nation maintaining its British partnership. If that happens it will be the greatest social political achievement of all history because it will mean the adoption for the first time by an Oriental power of the democracy which is based upon Magna Charta. Then in all truth the East and the West will have met at last in true fellowship and understanding and a new and glorious chapter in the world's long history will have opened.

I have mentioned India at some length because India has been cited even in Canada as a basis of criticism of British policy and also because to Indians the great world-girdling fellowship under the British Flag is an Empire. And it is known and described as an Empire by those whose voice is heard throughout the whole world. Please let us dispose of the idea that our avoidance of the term in Canada is going to end the use of the word. If, as is sometimes said, the word "Empire" arouses a feeling of antagonism in the minds of some people in the United States because it carries the thought of imperialism, then please let us remember that the word is still being used whether we use it or not. The word has been used within these past few weeks, while referring to the achievements of British people, in speeches heard in the United States over the radio, by the King, by Winston Churchill, and the Governor-General of Canada. If usage is to give meaning to words, then let us accept the very obvious truth that usage has not erased the words "British Empire" from the British vocabulary.

Why all this talk about the possibility that the use of the word "Empire" carries an evil hint of Imperialism? The question of imperialism in the evil sense is one of fact and not of name. There may be either an empire of aggressive power or an empire of justice, of honour, and good will. The true meaning of the words "British Empire" can only be found in the living proof of what that fellowship means. I am not urging the continued use of this name simply because we have used it in the past. We must not be slaves to tradition and we must not blindly do the things our fathers did before us. But on the other hand there is some middle ground between ancestor worship and a complete break with all the past from which we grew. Those who have no feeling of respect for their ancestors seldom command respect from their own posterity. The teaching of all history is that those who abandon their past usually lose their future. When there is such a wealth of tradition and warm fellowship within that name, why then should we substitute any other term in its place? Let us never forget the symbolic significance of the words we use. Many of the most stirring speeches in the English language lose much of their meaning unless we retain that ancient expression. If we abandon the name, we abandon a rich source of inspiration for all our people.

I hardly need recall that there have been many great Canadians who have stirred the faith and decent emotions of our people by their warm expressions of pride in the accomplishments of the British Empire. One of those was Sir Wilfrid Laurier and many years ago in Toronto he used words which express the feelings of many of us here to-day. This was what he said:

> "Since the proud days of Rome there has been no title prouder than the title of one who can say, 'Ego civis Brittanicus sum'."

Everywhere he went Sir Wilfrid was always proud to say: "I am a British citizen."

Then may I remind you of that stirring speech of King George the Fifth when he spoke to British people everywhere after the memorable day in 1935 when millions of people from the whole world gave voice in London to the deep love and affection with which they regarded the simple and admirable man and woman who were their titular King and Queen. After recalling what that day had meant to them, in his closing words he appealed in his deep and earnest voice to the youth. This is what he said: "I ask you to remember that in days to come you will be the citizens of a great Empire. As you grow up always keep this thought before you; and when the time comes be ready and proud to give to your country the service of your work, your mind, and your heart."

Are we to revise the words of that stirring message? Are we to rewrite thousands of histories? Are we to rechisel the inscriptions on many thousands of memorials to whose who died in the service of an Empire? And all to what purpose? We will not erase the word from the minds of our enemies who respect and fear it. We will not erase it from the minds of our friends who know how much they owe to that Empire in this war. We will not erase it from the thoughts of the gallant sailors on thousands of ships in the seven seas who are maintaining the vital supplies of war everywhere in the world under indescribable hardship They know what Empire means.

Why not continue to use the word which carries with it a long tradition of service, of justice, of honour, and of proven determination to work constantly for the betterment everywhere of the lot of the common man. The meaning of the word "Empire" is to be found in the hearts of our people and their own convictions, not in the interpretation placed upon it by our enemies.

Are we to erase from our memories and the memories of our children this simple and historic exchance of words which were so precious and meant so much? Just before he died seven years ago this month, King George turned to his very close friend, Lord Wigram and asked "How is the Empire?" And you will remember that Lord Wigram replied, "All is well, Sir, with the Empire." No, gentlemen, we must never erase those words from our memories and I suggest that it is our duty and our privilege to play our part in maintaining and increasing the strong bonds which held firm when all the world was drifting to slavery only two years ago. All was dark and disaster seemed very near. But the Empire rode the storm and the strong friends who are now with us recognize what that unity meant to them as it did to us. I think we have every reason to express our pride that in spite of devastating attacks and storms which have rocked the whole world, the old British partnership is still carrying on business at the same stand and under the same name. If each of us plays his own small part in the great task which lies ahead, we too will be able to say when the war is past, "All is well, Sir, with the Empire".

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: You will recall a Scriptural quotation, "Remove not the ancient landmark". I suppose all of us have been at funeral services where we have listened to the recitation of th 23rd Psalm—not in the King James version, but in some modern version. How flat it seems to fall when we get away from the ancient, the King James version. Those words just don't seem to have the effect we expect them to have, the effect they had upon us when we read them for the first, the second, the hundredth time.

We are very grateful to you, Colonel Drew, for making this Forum, your old Empire Club, the place for releasing your views on this important subject. Your address forms the third of a trilogy of addresses that we have recently had with reference to the Empire.

The Earl of Athlone gave us a wonderful address on the meaning of the Empire, that centre, as it were, of nerves, from which all the various ends of the earth receive their inspiration.

Lord Hailey gave us some idea, some special picture, of how the more remote parts of the Empire are to be co-ordinated eventually when they become able to look after their own particular interests, how they are to be co-ordinated and brought into the Empire of self-governing states.

You, Sir, have given us to-day a picture of the future with the thought that it should not be divorced from the national development growing out of the past. You are perfectly correct. People that have no past have no future. I think that possibly your whole address might be summed up in the idea that you expressed a little earlier, that political advancement has somewhat outworn social advancement. We are ready to take on these new jobs. We are a little at sea about the words. I think, Sir, as long as His Majesty's Loyal Opposition is in your hands, His Majesty's Government will be safe. (Laughter.) We thank you, Sir, for this address and we are delighted that you have come back to us.

The meeting is adjourned.

"THE EMPIRE IN THESE DAYS"

AN ADDRESS BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MALCOLM MACDONALD

High Commissioner for the United Kingdom.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, January 14, 1943

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Your Honour, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: May I first express the regret of the Prime Minister of Ontario at his absence to-day. He had hoped to be with us but last minute business has detained him.

It is our privilege to-day to welcome the brother of a very charming young lady who was our guest a few weeks ago. The memory of Miss Sheila MacDonald and her message still inspires us. The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald addressed us in May 1941, and, at that time, the Honourable G. Howard Ferguson, then President of the Club, said that when Mr. MacDonald was back in England we looked upon him as a Canadian living abroad.

A distinguished son of a distinguished father, he is an outstanding example of the platonic doctrine of training and education for public life. He was raised in an atmosphere of political thought, and, at the age of 28, was elected to the British House of Commons. In the intervening 13 or 14 years he has been successively Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Overseas Dominions, Secretary of State for the Colonies and Dominion Affairs, and Minister of Health. In 1941, he became High Commissioner for Canada, the position which he is now so ably filling.

Idealistic in vision and realistic in performance, capable and hard-working, Malcolm MacDonald continues on his way. One can forecast great achievements in high places for one who in the maturity of his youth has already accomplished so much.

Gentlemen, I present The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, who will address us on the subject, "The Empire In These Days". (Applause.)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MALCOLM MACDONALD: Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Gentlemen: Thank you for your kind introduction and welcome. During the last twenty months I have learned to have a profound respect for the powers of patient endurance of Canadian audiences. But I think that you take the prize, because you are just about the only audience that has voluntarily submitted itself to two speeches from me. I would like to express to you my admiration and gratitude for that extraordinary piece of courage.

When I was wondering what I should speak to you about today I thought it might not come amiss at The Empire Club of Canada if I said something about the Empire. We have heard much about it lately. Not all the speakers have couched their sentiments in complimentary language, indeed, it is a fact which we citizens of the Empire would be foolish to ignore that important sections of opinion among our American friends and elsewhere are rather suspicious of the British Empire. In fact, it is one subject which might cause a certain amount of unfriendliness between the people of Britain and America at a time when it is really essential that there should be a sincere friendship and trust between those two greatest democracies in the world, if the history of mankind during the next century is to be a happy one.

There are some people in Britain who seem to resent disparaging remarks about the Empire uttered by Americans. But I don't think that the main fault lies with them—it lies with us. If some Americans talk too much about the Empire, it is because we ourselves have talked too little about it. If they occasionally misunderstand some of the fundamental principles of our Imperial Government, the fault is ours, because we haven't taken the trouble to explain to them clearly. And if they suppose that our Empire is a sort of conspiracy to deny freedom to peoples, then it is high time that we made it clear that the very opposite is the truth. (Applause.)

Today on this appropriate platform, provided by you, I should like to make a declaration of the Imperial faith of my countrymen in Britain and, I believe, of you also in this room.

There are two things which have got to be understood at the very beginning by anyone who wishes to comprehend the modern British Empire. The first is the infinite variety which it contains. It is a multitudinous collection of countries scattered all around the world. It includes territories on every continent and islands in every sea, and covers a quarter of the entire land surface of the earth. Its peoples number more than one-quarter of the whole human population of the world. They are not one people with one set of problems to which there is one standard solution. They are a myriad of peoples, beginning with some of the most primitive races of man and passing through every gradation of cultural and social and political development up to some of the most civilized communities in the modern world. There were not more tongues spoken in the Tower of Babel than there are in the British Empire. There have never been so many different races paying homage to one King. There never was a wider earthly rule.

Well, those are some of the physical attributes of the Empire. But what about its spirit? What spirit animates this gigantic physical body whose limbs stretch right round the earth?

That brings me to the second basic fact about the Empire. It is this. The Constitution of the Empire is not static, it is dynamic. It has never become crystallized or fossilized or mumified. If it had, this Empire would have been long ago as extinct as the dodo, or as dead as many other Empires which have flourished in the past. But within this Empire constitutional changes are constantly taking place. Its political forms grow. They evolve. They develop. And those changes are a sign that this Empire is alive, that it is not just a hulking mass of inert territory and humanity, but that it is an organism which breathes and is sensitive and alert to every expanding need of the people who live in it.

For those constitutional changes which are taking place, now here, now there, throughout the Empire are not haphazard changes. They are not accidental. They have design. They have purpose. They are gradually achieving the main purpose of British Imperial policy. What is that purpose? It is that freedom shall spread ever more widely among all His Majesty's subjects, whatever their race or colour or creed and in whatever part of the world they live.

That spread of freedom is a steady, evolutionary process. It is going on all the time, sometimes almost imperceptibly. Its pace varies from country to country, according to the different capacities and stages of development of the local inhabitants. In primitive communities the pace is extremely slow. Elsewhere it is much more rapid. If we are to follow that steady onward march of liberty among all the King's peoples, it is convenient to divide the Empire into three main groups of countries.

First, there is the Colonial Empire. Second, there is India, and third, there is what is now called the British Commonwealth of Nations, in which are included all the Dominions and Britain herself.

Let me begin with the Colonial Empire. That is one point of attack by our friendly critics. In the Colonial Empire there are some fifty colonies, protectorates and mandated territories. The peoples in some of them are still very little advanced beyond their primitive state.

For example, I recall dallying for a while some years ago on one of our island colonies in the Pacific Ocean. I spent a pleasant afternoon in the company of an old Chieftain who was reputed to be a reformed cannibal. When we had got on sufficiently safe terms of affability, I asked him whether he had ever eaten human flesh.

"O, yes", he replied with a chuckle, "many a time".

"What does it taste like?", I asked.

He replied, with a reminiscent epicurean smile, "It tasted rather like good roast pork."

Then I asked cautiously whether white men or black men were better to eat, and he said that it was the general opinion of the cannibals of his day that black men were more palatable than white men because white men had got too much salt in their flesh.

Heaving a sigh of relief, I asked him whether he had ever eaten a white man.

"No", he said, "only an American".

Of course I relate that experience only in jest. Nothing could be more circumspect and friendly than the conduct of those islanders today. They are already taking a direct part in the good civilized government of their country and as time goes on they will take a larger and larger part. Nevertheless, it is just possible that if some of our American critics gave prudent thought to that tale, they might conclude that some, at any rate, of the results of giving early complete self-government to those islanders might still be unfortunate. The progress of such peoples is bound to be slow. We would defeat our own excellent purpose if we were to hustle them. I don't know much about it, but I have been told you have to teach a child to walk before it can run.

Nevertheless, let me state categorically that the prime purpose of our colonial administration even among the most backward peoples in some parts of Africa or Malaya or the South Sea Islands is to train them always to stand a little more securely on their own social and political feet. (Applause.)

I could give much evidence of that. For example, we have trained large numbers already and increasing numbers are being trained to be their own agricultural officers and medical officers and educational officers and administrative officers in government. In some of the African colonies there are already excellent African heads of departments, African Judges, African leaders of thought and action. We are deliberately training those peoples so that they can take over in an ever-increasing measure the management of their own affairs.

There is another significant feature in the colonies. In almost every British colonial territorial there is already some form of local representative council. Those councils vary greatly in their size and their responsibilities. Some of them are still very miniature affairs, with extremely limited powers. But others are already imposing assemblies, clothed with much of the authority of fully fledged democratic parliaments. In Ceylon, for instance, there is a legislative council of more than a hundred members, elected on a wide popular franchise, exercising complete powers of lawmaking in all the internal affairs of the island, and led by a Ceylonese Prime Minister and a Committee of other responsible Ceylonese Ministers at the head of almost every executive department.

My point is this: Every one of those representative councils, whether they be small or large, whether they be weak or already powerful, are parliaments in embryo. They represent different stages in the birth of complete self-government. Government of the colonial peoples for the colonial peoples by the colonial peoples is everywhere the ultimate aim of British rule.

The peoples in the colonies themselves generally feel assured of that fact. I do not believe that there has been anything more remarkable in modern times than the action of the British Colonies in September, 1939. I happened to be Colonial Secretary then, and what I watched was very moving. The colonies are scattered far and wide all around the world. Most of them were remote from the scene of conflict in Europe, they had no responsibility whatever for the quarrels from which the tragedy had sprung; and they might well have hesitated or even sought to escape from the privations and dangers of participation in war. But they took the very opposite course. Immediately after Britain's declaration of war on Germany, messages from them began to pour on to my desk in Downing Street. I had not asked for them. I had not even suggested to any Governors that they should arrange for them to come. But they came in from every territory and from almost every organization in every territory in the British Colonial Empire. They came from Legislative Councils and from Chambers of Commerce, and Trade Unions, from Councils of Native Chiefs, from huge gatherings of native tribes, and from public meetings of every kind of citizen. They came spontaneously. They were unanimous. Every one of them was an expression of whole-hearted support for Britain, and an expression of their desire to share all the burdens and sacrifices which the war might entail.

Why did those messages come? It certainly was not that our colonial administration has been perfect, or that the citizens of the colonies had no complaints. We have achieved many good things in our colonial government, but we have also made some very serious mistakes. The peoples of the colonies had their grievances and they used to air them. Under our government they were free to do so. But as soon as war came and Britain was in peril, all those controversies ceased. The peoples of the colonies felt an over-riding urge to concentrate their minds and energies on the unremitting waging of war at Britain's side.

Why? Because Britain was the best guarantee of their free development. If Britain were destroyed, they thought that they would be lost. They know that so long as they remain part of the British Empire their own individual characters and cultures and religions will be respected. Everything that is good in their own peculiar ways of life will be preserved. They will be left free to develop themselves according to their own particular idiosyncrasies and genius. Their liberty will steadily expand.

Let me just give one concrete case of that. As it happened, shortly before the war the time had come for a constitutional step forward in a certain colony in the Mediterranean called Malta. Early in 1939 a new Constitution with a considerable instalment of self-government was enacted there. Well, in the last three years we have heard quite a lot about the Maltese. They have covered themselves with glory. (Applause.) Their stubborn and heroic resistance to the combined might of Germany and Italy is one of the classics, not just of this war but of all wars. Well, at the very height of the enemy's attempt to subjugate the Island I got a message from Malta one day, saying that a major factor in sustaining the superb morale of the people there was the confidence which the Constitution of 1939 had given them that Britain was the true champion of their freedom.

Let me pass from the Colonies to India. The Colonies are all travelling at different speeds along the road toward self-government. No one can yet say when any of them will arrive at their destination. The position is quite different in India. The peoples of British India have progressed much further along this highway than the peoples of the colonies have done, and a definite time has been set for their arrival.

What is the position? It is sometimes suggested that a tyrannical British Government stands in the way of Indian freedom. It does nothing of the kind. For some years past the British Government has been anxious to press ahead with reforms which would result in India assuming all the powers of a sovereign nation. Certain practical difficulties stand in the way. But those difficulties do not exist inside Britain. They exist inside India itself. The presence of the princely Indian States is one complication. But the main difficulty is that the great Hindu and Moslem religious communities which play such a vital part in the social and political life of India have not yet been able to compose their differences and to agree on a Constitution which would divide authority equitably between them and protect the rights of minorities.

The solution of the Indian problem rests very largely—not entirely, because we can do a great deal to help, but very largely with the Indian peoples themselves. If they can avail themselves of the specific proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps made on behalf of the British Government early last year, they will undoubtedly obtain their complete national freedom at the end of the war. That offer of the British Government still stands. It has not got any strings on it. The Indian people can gain their freedom either as a Dominion inside the British Commonwealth, or, if they prefer it, as an independent nation outside. Now, it would be impossible for the British or for any other people to make a more unqualified and generous offer than that.

In the meantime, let there be no mistake about the attitude of the Indian people to this war. In some of our newspapers their internal political difficulties receive much too much prominence in relation to certain other things. We hear all too little about other important activities which are busily engaging the Indian peoples in these fateful times. The people of India are spending their treasure and their blood in the fight against Nazi and Fascist dictatorship as nobly as any of the rest of us in the United Nations. (Applause.) Indian factories today are equipping with modern weapons and munitions the greater part of all the Allied Forces in that quarter of the globe. The Indians themselves are seeking to enlist in the fighting forces in such large numbers that it has been literally impossible to take them in as fast as they volunteered. Indian troops have fought in every campaign in the Middle East and the Far East. They acquitted themselves well in Malaya and Burma, Abyssinia and Syria, Egypt and Libya. Several individuals among them have already won the supreme award of the Victoria Cross.

One whole Indian Regiment fought so courageously through the Abyssinian campaign that some Highland troops who fought at their side composed a song in their honour and presented it to them, with an accompaniment of the bagpipes, called "The Bravest of the Brave". Believe me, if a Highlander tells you that you are the bravest of the brave, it is the solemn and inescapable truth. (Applause.)

Well, I can assure you that we in Britain devoutly hope that as soon as possible after the war the Indian peoples from whom were sprung those bravest of the brave will be included among the freest of the free. (Applause.)

The best proof of the sincerity of Britain in these professions is the fact that already inside the British Empire there are some countries where that evolutionary process of the gaining of freedom which I have described has already been completed, where young peoples have graduated into full nationhood.

Those countries of course are the Dominions. Canada stands first among them. There are also Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Eire. Under the British Crown the Dominions are equal in political status with Britain herself. They cooperate like brothers with each other, but each one of them separately is clothed with all the rights and powers of a sovereign nation. Every Dominion governs its own internal affairs through its own parliament, conducts its own foreign policy through its Foreign Secretary, sends its own delegations to international conferences, appoints its own diplomatic representatives in foreign capitals, and negotiates its own treaties with foreign governments. They are absolutely free to decide what their policy shall be in all the great crises that can face a nation. That liberty could not have received a more extreme test than it did at the outbreak of this war. In that supreme crisis, when Britain was fighting for her very life, every Dominion was free to decide for itself whether it should enter the war or stand aside. Four of them did immediately resolve to enter the war, and they have shared voluntarily and proudly ever since every hazard and honour of our great enterprise.

But one Dominion behaved differently. Britain's closest neighbour, Eire, decided to remain neutral. Eire's neutrality has exposed us in Britain to great dangers, but nobody has ever made the slightest attempt to bring Eire into the struggle against her own will. I do not believe you will find anywhere in the whole field of international politics a more devoted loyalty to the principle of freedom than Britain has shown in that case. (Applause.)

Well, that is a brief sketch of the British Empire in these days. Much has had to be omitted from the portrait. There has been no time, for instance, to tell you of the constructive ways in which Britain is carrying out her trusteeship for colonial peoples, pending the time when they can govern themselves completely. But I have drawn the main features of the character of the British Empire today.

How can it be summed up? Well, it was summed up by General Smuts the other day. No one is more qualified to speak of the Empire than that fine soldier-statesman who is the Prime Minister of South Africa. He began his public career by fighting bitterly against the British. He has no sentimental prejudice in our favour. He looks at the British Empire as it has developed since those days of his brilliant youth with the dispassionate gaze of one of the most experienced and wisest statesmen of our time. The other day he wrote in the American Magazine, *Life,* that the Empire today "is the widest system of organized human freedom which has ever existed in history".

Of course we have made many mistakes in our Imperial policy. No doubt we shall make some more. That is one of the marks of all human endeavour. But we are striving sincerely and strenuously after a great ideal. And in seeking to attain it neither the people of Britain nor their comrades in the Dominions and India and the Colonies will shirk any difficulty or danger. Free men all round the world already owe us a good deal. In the most critical twelve months of this war we stood alone across the path of the cruel conqueror who otherwise would have extinguished liberty everywhere.

And when the victory is won—very largely as a result of the intervention of our best friends in the world, the Americans who live to the south of you—(Applause)—when the victory is won, the contribution of the British Empire in building, we hope, a better peace than men have known before will be as significant as it has been in the battle itself. The thing that men yearn for most today is the discovery of how nations in future can live peacefully together, settling those international disputes which are bound to arise between them from time to time by reasonable and civilized methods, instead of by resort to the barbaric cruelties of war. Often in history it has seemed that men have discovered the secret of that. Grand Alliances between nations, Councils of the Great Powers, then the League of Nations followed each other in turn, each seeming for a while to solve that greatest of all human problems, and then suddenly failing. But there does remain one experiment in friendly cooperation between free and equal nations which has survived many severe tests and which is still working in practice. It is the British Commonwealth of Nations. Of course it can never take the place of the wider, the universal association of nations and peoples that we all desire. But it may in some ways be a model for that. Certainly our experiences can teach many practical lessons to the architects and the builders of that grander design.

The political genius of the British peoples has given many great gifts to civilized men. It presented them, for example, with parliamentary government. But perhaps the noblest gift of all is this British Commonwealth of Nations, which is showing how in practice men can find and tread upon the paths of peace. (Prolonged applause—the audience standing.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Your Honour and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Some seven weeks ago, to be exact, in November last year, two passengers alighted from a train at a railway station some place in the north of The Isles. By "The Isles" I mean the British Isles, not the "Iles" of Scottish song and story. One of them was in uniform, a Wing Commander in the Air Force. The other was in civilian clothes. Of course, may I say, there was a station waggon for the man who was in uniform to take him from there to his destination. The civilian was not so provided for. The Wing Commander said to him, "Going over to the airport?" He was. "Have a lift?" He would.

So these two gentlemen started off on a bomber for Canada. One was bound for Toronto, the other was bound for Ottawa. The one who was bound for Toronto was coming here to see his refugee children who were in the home of one of the members of this Club, Mr. Cecil Harpham. The other was bound for Ottawa to resume his official duties—The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald.

It is a rather nice coincidence, a pretty little story, but isn't it rather odd that we should have the British High Commissioner thumbing his way, as it were, by bomber to Canada, particularly to Ottawa?

It has been a great pleasure, Sir, to have you with us to-day. This is the second generation of MacDonalds who have addressed us. I wonder whether it is too much to hope—(Laughter.)—

We have had a succession of addresses on the Empire, a wonderful succession of addresses. First, you will remember we had His Excellency, the Earl of Athlone. We had Chaudhuri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, who spoke to us on India. We had Lord Hailey and we had Colonel George Drew, and to-day, the fifth in line, The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald. We have had an exceedingly fine series of addresses on what the Empire means to us and this. Gentlemen, is your Club—The Empire Club—the Club that is supposed to do what it can to bind together that friendship, that feeling of good spirit, that spirit of nationhood which should bind together the different parts of this grand Empire of which we form a part.

We are happy to have with us, too, Mr. Cormack, a boyhood friend of The Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald. We welcome you here very sincerely, Mr. Cormack.

To you, Sir, the only further word that I say is, in your own language, as from one Scot to another, you are the bravest of the brave. We thank you sincerely for this delightful address. (Applause.)

"THE MYTH OF THE MILITIA"

An Address By

MAJOR ROSWELL P. ROSENGREN,
Intelligence Officer in the Office of the Chief of Engineers,
Washington, D.C.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, January 21, 1943.

Before introducing the Guest Speaker, the Chairman announced that Dr. Elias Clouse, one of the founders of the Club, was present at the head table. Dr. Clouse had just celebrated his 87th birthday during this month.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: It is a pleasure, when having guests from far and wide, to have a visit from a neighbour. To-day our guest is a neighbour, a next door neighbour, from the City of Buffalo, who, on his last call, some fifteen months ago, talked to us most informatively on the subject, "Men, Money, and Matériel". He came to us then as Captain Roswell P. Rosengren; he comes to us to-day as Major Roswell P. Rosengren. This advance in rank, we take it, has no relation to or bearing on his subject to-day, which is "The Myth of the Militia". (Laughter.)

Major Rosengren, although still a young man, has had an unusually outstanding career. A lawyer by practice and profession, he holds degrees from two universities, and, while finding or making time to cultivate many incidental interests, has already channeled a deep course through the ways of commerce. He was successively

President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the City of Buffalo, then of the State of New York, then of the United States of America. That sort of achievement takes real ability. His services in this field of endeavour were so highly regarded that, in 1934, he received the National Distinguished Service Award of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and, in 1935, he was chosen as one of the ten outstanding men in the United States of America under the age of forty years.

When he came to us last, he was with the Planning and Liaison Branch of the Bureau of Public Relations of the War Department at Washington. To-day he comes as the Intelligence Officer in the office of the Chief of Engineers.

Even though his wife was educated at the Ontario Ladies College, and, from her, he might have learned better, I venture to say that the only means by which you will be able to detect that he lives south, instead of north, of the mythical border is that he will say *lootenant* instead of *leftenant* and *zee* instead of *zed*. Who cares, since both are right!

Gentlemen: Major Roswell P. Rosengren.

MAJOR ROSWELL P. ROSENGREN: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Gentlemen, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Radio Audience generally: Fifteen months ago, as your President has said, it was my pleasure to appear before this distinguished organization. At that time the young men of Canada were at the fighting fronts and the United States was at nominal peace with the world.

You may remember, as you have been reminded, that we discussed the progress of the defense effort in the United States in terms of "Men, Money and Matériel". Such indicative statistics as national security permitted were laid before you. Your enthusiastic approbation of the news of that program of construction and production suggests that no more emphasis than a reminder will call it to your mind.

In outlining the evolution of then recent reactions in America, we traced the steps from apathy to concern, from concern to alarm and from alarm to action. I was so bold as to say "Let there be no doubt—it is Hitler who is our enemy and it is Hitlerism that threatens our Democratic security." The events of the intervening months have borne out such prognostications as we mutually read between the lines of the facts then recited.

Now we are engaged in a global war, the extent and implications of which are incalculable. In the face of cold steel and under a rain of terror from the skies, we have learned, in the hard school of experience, that only trained and disciplined armies, backed by the production line of mass industry, can successfully defeat the skilled aggressors who oppose us. On December 7 of 1941 we of the United States were blasted out of our lethargy, and the least interested of us became concerned with preparation for war.

Once more it has been demonstrated that wars are won by trained soldiers led by skilled, experienced officers and not by amateurs. In both of our peaceful nations we have a just pride in the patriotism and the bravery of our soldiers, but we must not forget the dangers of the patriotism of unpreparedness. George Washington was right when he told the Continental Congress that the colonies needed a good army—not a large one. Now we need both.

A generation ago it was said: "I can stamp my foot and a million men will spring to arms overnight". There are still some who persist in this delusion, which we may well call "The Myth of the Militia". Men might desire to spring to arms, but who could tell them they were to go? Who would build them shelter? Who would examine them physically and isolate those with communicable diseases to prevent horrible epidemics? Where would they get any uniforms? An enemy shoots or hangs prisoners captured in civilian clothes. They might try to spring to arms; but the arms would not be there for them to spring to. If each brought a rifle, whence would come the thousand kinds of necessary ammunition? They would have to be divided into units and each unit would need a cook and a kitchen. Soldiers must be paid. They must have doctors and medicines. They must be trained for war.

When one analyzes the magnitude of these necessities in the familiar terms of housing, food, clothing, illness, and pay checks alone, then multiplies the problem by necessities of war and one perceives the inadequacy of the millions of men, one gleans a small idea of the basic militia.

There are many instances in the history of our respective countries to point out our mutual belief that a patriotic militia is a full measure of protection against the aggressive attack of any hostile nation or group of nations. The Saxon forbears of our early colonists, for example, after being led to victory by Harold against the Danes at Stamford Bridge—being undisciplined militia, went home to tell their wives and neighbours of the event. Thus handicapped, Harold had to gather an even less trained rabble to move south to meet the Normans. But the trained might of the forces of William the Conqueror were too much for Harold's green militia and thus England was successfully invaded at a cost of the life of the King and almost all of his followers. Braddock's defeat furthered the illusion that trained soldiery might be expected to fall easily before the irregulars. And it is seldom that we teach that only after the formation and careful training of the 60th Royal Americans (now that most distinguished regiment, the King's Royal Rifle Corps) was Braddock's defeat avenged and the pioneers of the westerly colonies made safe.

Of course it is only human to glory in the history of our own country. This human trait makes it difficult to learn objectively from our own mistakes. Therefore, let us examine the experiences of others in order to reach unbiased conclusions. The truth is that small, good armies have always defeated big, bad ones.

At Leuctra, nearly 400 years before Christ, 6,000 well-trained Thebans under Epaminondas decisively defeated

10,000 Spartans. He placed his best and most experienced troops on his left wing, a column 50 deep, plus cavalry, with which he crushed one wing of the enemy, where their leader stood. It was this basic movement which Frederick the Great made famous at Leuthen in his "oblique attack" by which he defeated 80,000 Austrians with but 30,000 men. This strategy, so popular with the Germans, was recently turned against Marshal Rommel by General Auchinleck, in the defense of Egypt.

Alexander the Great, by superior training *and* leadership, ended the Persian threat of his day and went on to conquer the then known world. In the decisive battle of Arbella, he crushed the Oriental, polyglot might of Persia, consisting of 1,000,000 infantrymen and 40,000 horsemen. His 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry inflicted a loss of 300,000 upon the Persians, while suffering casualties of only 100 men and 1,000 horses themselves.

The establishment of the Macedonian Empire by Alexander produced the civilization of the great Hellenistic Age centred at Alexandria, which reached significant heights in scientific and literary activity as well as commerce and prosperity. Similarly, the hundred years of the Golden Age of Pericles had followed the wars in which the Greeks under Miltiades had defeated the Persians at the Battle of Marathon. There 10,000 Athenians defeated 20,000 invading Persians by initiating the great Military Plan made famous by Hannibal at Cannae. It was the same double envelopment the Germans used in 1914, and a chief modern tactical plan. Thus we inherited the art, architecture, philosophy, oratory, sculpture, and drama of Greece, as the direct result of a united people who enjoyed the advantages of military training, and were willing to fight to preserve their way of life.

The foundations of the Roman Empire were laid by Julius Caesar. The empire he founded ruled the most protracted period of peaceful civilization and commerce in the history of the world. In addition, it laid the foundation for all of the modern European nations including England, France and Germany. It is interesting to note that the training and discipline of the Roman Legions preserved the Empire for centuries, even after the whole army became barbarian. And to date, more millions have been slain by the double-edged Roman thrusting sword than by any other weapon. When the Roman citizens deserted the military for civil pursuits, and became degenerated and disintegrated from soft, luxurious and licentious living, the barbarians took over the territory and made slaves of the effeminate people.

At the Battle of Crecy 19,000 well-trained and well-led English longbowmen won a decisive victory over 60,000 armed, but poorly-organized French knights, took a toll of 30,000 French, spelling the end of the age of chivalry, and costing but 50 English lives.

Napoleon's comeback after his retreat from Moscow was almost unbelievable. After forcing a six-weeks truce by means of a newly-raised army, he marched 80,000 men 90 miles to Dresden in three days, where he acquired some 16,000 additional fighting men. With these he struck the 200,000 Russian, Prussian and Austrian allies —using the forerunner of the modern pincers tactics. With a loss of but 10,000 he completely routed the enemy, capturing 23,000 prisoners and inflicting a total loss of 38,000.

Honestly we must admit that man is inherently a fighting animal. The basic instinct of self-preservation, in a world which has never filled his wants, has led him to fight for his food, his cave and the pelts of beasts to keep him warm. The complexities and developments of civilization have only extended his insatiable desires until the luxury of to-day became to-morrow's necessity, for which he has always been willing to—and always will—fight!

As the family expanded into the tribe and the tribes grouped together as communities, the boundaries of the land each occupied expanded to the boundaries of similar communities. Further expansion was always at the expense of others. As a result of this conflict of interest the stronger overcame the weaker, enslaved the inhabitants and annexed its territory. Without modification in essence, the same drama is being enacted to-day all over the world.

Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty. History shows repeatedly that where people fail in this vigilance, strong nations conquer weaker nations by force of arms.

Might has frequently conquered right. To those who pretend to deny it let them review the conquests of the Huns, the Tartars, the Moslems, the Turks, Genghis Khan's Mongolians, Prussia, Napoleon's France, Nazi-Germany and Japan. Let them also review the great civilizations which have thus fallen. Egypt, Greece, Macedonia, Rome, China, Holland, France and Spain.

But let us bring the story down to date. When England refused to "have its neck wrung like a chicken", and won the Battle of Britain in the air; when Soviet Stoicism stopped the Nazi sweep; when the United States won the defensive battles of the Coral Sea, Midway, and the Solomons, and when the Allies secured the African foothold, the issue in the world's most titanic struggle of all time was joined. Mighty powers are now engaged on many fronts in a battle to the death. The Titans are Germany and Japan on the one side, and Russia, Britain, China and the United States on the other.

While Germany and Japan were arming at a furious rate, many of us still believed in the "Myth of the Militia". We refused to prepare for war. We tacitly permitted the occupation of Austria and the dismemberment of Czeckoslovakia. Thus at Munich, Germany accomplished the removal of a wonderful, well-equipped army of Czech patriots and secured the possession of the great Skoda Munitions Works.

Then came Poland and the winter of "Phoney War" during which the Nazis sharpened the "Blitz" against the deadened senses of the Democracies. In the Spring of 1940, down went Denmark and Norway. Dairy products, paper-making material and fish were cut off from Britain, and Sweden's high-grade iron-ore was isolated.

The Maginot Line was pierced, the great French army was defeated, and France fell in a matter of days. The demise of Holland and Belgium had preceded that of France. Then came Dunkirk. With France went 19% of the world's iron supply and her munitions industries. In that black week in June of 1940 Britain stood virtually alone against the Nazi onslaught from the air.

With the conquests already consolidated, Germany commenced putting to work a labor army of subject peoples now numbering near two and a half million, Poles, Italians, French, Belgians and Dutch. Thus she released more men to the engines of war she had already built or captured. With the fall of France the United States began to question the "Myth of the Militia" sufficiently to pass its first peace-time Conscription Act in history. In July, 1940, our regular Army consisted of only 265,000 men. Most of the National Guard units consisted of companies. None of our forces were trained in the methods of modern warfare. As Secretary Stimson put it on New Year's Eve last, "the Government was in the position a football coach would be in at the beginning of the season if he found he only had a mass of men, the bulk of whom had not played football, and those who had played, had only played soccer." We had not enough powder to last our Army now overseas for one day's fighting, and worse, no powder plants to make it.

Meanwhile, the war in the Balkans put Germany in control of so large a base of operations in the Mediterranean as to virtually close that direct line of communications to the Far East and threaten the destruction of Britain's strongholds in Northern Africa, including Suez.

Despite the pact with the Soviets, it next became obvious that Germany's long-delayed war with Russia was at hand, and on June 22nd, 1941, the latest of Hitler's assurances was ground into the mud by tanks and troops heading east. It took less than two months for

Hitler to possess the rich Ukraine which produces nearly one-fifth of the world's wheat.

That fall the persistence in the tradition of the "Myth of the Militia" almost saw our new trained Army sent home at the end of one year's training. Suddenly the blow fell, and the reality of lightning war flashed from across both oceans. The truth which misguided peacemongers had prevented us from fully seeing, the equally misguided sons of Nippon taught us in the dawn of a peaceful Hawaiian Sunday morning. We were all in the fight together within the next few days. But we were to pay for delay and belief in the "Myth of the Militia".

The least military observer, after seeing the news reels of the broken, twisted, smoking ruins of ships and planes at Pearl Harbour and after reading our casualty list, must realize the licking that we took on December 7th. The thing that couldn't happen, had happened! Time galloped on. On the 8th, Thailand and Malaya were invaded, the Philippines on the 10th. Guam, which we wouldn't fortify, fell on the 12th. Wake was captured Christmas Eve, and next day, the 40-million-dollar fortress of Hong Kong was Japan's Christmas present after only ten days' fighting. Manila fell January 2nd and despite MacArthur's stand on Bataan, the Philippines were doomed. In swift succession, by former standards, Japan accomplished a six-and-a-half year conquest in six and a half weeks! Count the Milestones: Thailand, Malaya, Borneo, Singapore, Sumatra, Java, Bataan, Corregidor, and Burma!

Let us pause to count our losses. With the Philippines went hemp and sugar and natural resources and we were pushed 5,500 miles farther away from Japan. Positions in Thailand exposed Burma and enabled Japan to cut the Burma Road. Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, previously securing all of the world's rubber supply to the United Nations, in falling, left us with but 2% equally divided between Africa and South America. Still we complain of tire and gasoline rationing! And it takes 150,000 pounds of rubber for a 25,000 ton war-ship; 1,750 pounds for a medium tank, and 1,246 pounds for a flying fortress!

Your paper gum wrappers and cigarette packages mutely testify to the loss of more than 64% of the world's supply of tin which Japan got with the East Indies and the Malay States. 90% of the world's quinine was cut off—and Corregidor fell, as much for want of quinine to fight malaria as for any other reason. Within a radius of 3,000 miles Japan now has that 61,000,000 barrel annual production of oil so vital to the planes and tanks and ships of the United Nations. All that is left us in the Far East is a dribble in Mongolia.

And how does that vital oil get there now? From New York to Perth is 65 long days by tanker; from San Francisco to Sydney, more than a month. This oil must run the gauntlet of German submarines, even if the Mediterranean is opened, and the Navy and airplanes of Japan stand between us and our South Pacific bases.

The loss of Singapore moved Britain 3,000 miles farther away in striking distance from Japan. The Japanese activity in the Aleutian Islands indicates that they are there to set up more than a weather station!

There are some compensating facts. The man-power potential of the Axis (eighteen to thirty-five) is 85,000,000, while the United Nations can muster, on the same basis, 187,000,000. Despite the magic of the speed of wings which Blitzkrieg has imparted to the bulk and weight and power of the engines of war, men are still the most important element of all. The Axis had the jump in preparation. But we know that the free men who love the cause of Liberty will triumph in the end. But what a price the "Myth of the Militia" has cost and will cost ere that victory is achieved.

In June of last year, while United States planes bombed Wake Island, Rommel was capturing Matruh and Fuka in Egypt. In July the Germans took Sevastapol in the Crimea and Rostov in Russia, pushing toward Stalingrad. They reached El Alamein only 200 miles from the Suez Canal. The Japs completed the capture of the Nanchang-Hangchow Railway in China, occupied Agattu in the Aleutians, and landed at Buna in New Guinea. Meanwhile, a huge United States naval base was completed in northern Ireland.

The following month the Japs took Kokoda in New Guinea, occupied strategic islands north of Darwin, Australia, and threatened Port Moresby by landing at Milne Bay. The Germans nearly ringed Stalingrad with steel and pushed deeper into the Caucasus. The United States fought two battles of the Solomons, electrocuted six Nazi saboteurs in Washington, landed on Guadalcanal, participated slightly in the Dieppe raid with you, and helped welcome our newest ally, Brazil, which declared war on Germany and Italy.

In September began the siege of Stalingrad. While the British took the capital of Madagascar, United States troops occupied the Galapagos Islands defending Panama, and Wendell Willkie visited the fighting capitals of the United Nations.

October saw some hope, with the Allies pushing the Japs back from Port Moresby, and the Japanese withdrawal from Attu and Agattu, as well as witnessing the move of United States troops out of the Andreanof Islands in Aleutians. The Australians captured Templeton's Crossing in the Owen Stanley Mountains of New Guinea. The British Eighth Army started its powerful westward push from El Alamein, and the "impossible" engineering task was completed which opened the Alaskan-Canadian Military Highway to traffic.

In November, while the Germans made their farthest advance into the Caucasus by capturing Alagir and threatening the Georgia Military Highway, the British Eighth Army recaptured Matruh and, under the leadership of United States Lieutenant-General Eisenhower and British Admiral Cunningham, the Allies invaded northwest Africa, subdued Algeria and Morocco, and pushed into Tunisia. Almost simultaneously the Germans moved into Occupied France and took Bizerte and Gabes in Tunisia. The Italians occupied Corsica.

Westward moved the Eighth Army of the British under the protection of the R.A.F. and the American Air Force, decimating Rommell's Africa Corps. The Russians crossed the Don in force and the siege of Stalingrad was lifted by fierce Societ thrusts into strategic positions all along the line. The Germans seized Toulon (characteristically breaking another Hitler promise) and, in response, the most heroic mass act of the war saw the suicide of the French Fleet, physically, but the spiritual regeneration of France before the eyes of the world. Meanwhile, the R.A.F. pounded Italy, the Aussies captured Gona in New Guinea, and Admiral Callahan drove the *San Francisco* and its 8-inch guns between the battle lines and the 14-inch guns of Nipponese battleships to defeat the "Rising Sons of Japan" at the cost of his own life. (Applause.)

With the turn of these events which Winston Churchill has characterized as "The End of the Beginning", many people had their hopes raised for a quick victory and an early peace. Be not deceived. Already, despite a skilfully planned and executed North African campaign, the stiffening Axis resistance at Bizerte and Tunis is warning of the long and bloody time which will elapse before we occupy Berlin. The entrenched Japanese positions in the Far East, viciously defended, indicate the difficult road to Tokyo.

In December the Aussies took Gona. The Japs reopened assaults on the Burma Road. Rommel's Army was in complete retreat into Libya. British launched a drive into Burma toward Akyab. Russians increased large-scale operations threatening Rostov and the German Caucasus positions. Darlan was assassinated and replaced by Giraud.

With years of preparation behind them and with no real resistance to stem the tide of Blitz-Krieg-political and military conquest, it has taken the Nazis over six years to possess most of Europe. It began with the occupation of the Rhineland in 1936, but the real push began March 12, 1938, with the Austrian "Anschluss". Japan moved into Manchuria in 1931 and has been on the move ever since.

A glance at one map will indicate that after more than a year of training and an additional year of war, we have only begun to close with the enemy with large forces in the European Theatre. In the Pacific the possession of Guadalcanal represents but the first stepping stone back toward Tokyo. There are some twenty-seven more major ones. It took the Japs three months and ten days to fully consolidate these points. It has taken longer for us to establish ourselves in a thirty-five mile strip surrounding Henderson Field on Guadalcanal. This is an indicator of the difficulty of the task ahead.

Thus we see that the first full year of war has been one of making "regulars" of the total Armed Forces of the United States, and of gearing the mass production of her peace-time industries to all-out war, not only to equip those forces but to become the "Arsenal of Democracy" for the United Nations.

Now how far have we succeeded? I respectfully refer you to the aforementioned press conference of the Secretary of War and to the January 7 address to the Congress by the President of the United States, my Commander-in-Chief. As Mr. Roosevelt said, "Yes—we believe the Nazis and the Fascists have asked for it—and they are going to get it." (Applause.)

As Mr. Stimson said, "To-day we have an army of over five million men . . . including literally tens of thousands of pilots. . . . We are rapidly training the officers of these forces who are chosen by the most democratic method and educated by the most thorough system of officer schools we have had in our history. This army of ours is being rapidly equipped with the best planes that are in the air to-day, with the best tanks on the ground to-day, with the best self-propelled artillery in action to-day, and with the best rifles—according to almost unanimous testimony—that are being used in any part of the world to-day. The average American soldier to-day weighs eight pounds more than his fellow of 1918. The average soldier of to-day is also a sober man. Fifty per cent confine themselves to soft drinks entirely; only forty per cent drink beer and less than ten per cent drink distilled liquors. He is moral. A much larger percentage of our soldiers go to church than the percentage of citizens outside of the Army go to their churches. He is healthy. The general disease rate is lower than in any previous war. Upon this pedestal of sound physique we are trying to place the indispensable moral qualities. We are combining education with the training and are furnishing them with every element which tends to produce what the old Romans called 'Mens Sano in Corpore Sano' —that is, 'a sound mind in a sound body'."

Thus, to the greatest extent in the history of the United States we have put aside "The Myth of the Militia". Thus we bring the power of our nation side by side with yours into close grips on a large scale with the enemy. Thus do we answer the challenge of our day embodied in the words of Lieut.-Colonel John McCrea with which I concluded my remarks of last year. You remember the last few lines:

"Take up our quarrel with the foe;
  To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
  If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
  In Flanders fields."

And now there is an answer to that challenge—typified by Pilot Officer John Gillespie Magee, Junior, an American citizen born of missionary parents in Shanghai and educated in Britain's famed Rugby School. In September of 1940 he left the campus of Yale to enlist in the Royal Canadian Air Force. He served overseas with an R.C.A.F. Spitfire Squadron until his death on active service, December 11, 1941. Like McCrae in World War I, he left a heritage of poetry—a sonnet scribbled on the back of a letter to his mother in Washington which already is ranked by Archibald McLeish, Librarian of Congress, with Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier", and John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields". From his background of the Orient, of England, of American University life, combined in the short life of this young Canadian Air Force officer, may I leave it with you as he has left it for posterity. It is called "High Flight":

"Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of earth
And danced the skies on laughter—silvered wings;
Sunward I've climbed, and joined the tumbling mirth
Of sun-split clouds—and done a hundred things
You have not dreamed of—wheeled and soared and swung
High in the sunlit silence. Hov'ring there
I've chased the shouting wind along, and flung
My eager craft through footless halls of air.

Up, up the long, delirious, burning blue
I've topped the wind-swept heights with easy grace
Where never lark, nor even eagle flew—
And, while with silent lifting mind I've trod
The high untrespassed sanctity of space
Put out my hand and touched the face of God."

—(Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Major Rosengren, I think I could not do very much better than simply say "Thank You" for this address. I am one who believes that the poet can much better express thought than the prose writer.

We are very grateful to you that you have chosen to end your address with the beautiful words of this poem, a real poem. You have given us a moving picture of the "Myth of the Militia". It is no pacifist address, and we are glad of that; it smacks of unity, and its smacks of co-operation, and we are glad of those two features. You have drawn on history to show us that the well-equipped, well trained army is always superior, even though shorter in numbers, than the badly equipped, badly trained, mass or rabble. It took us a long time, over a period of a great many years since the last war, to come to that realization, but we have it now, and although I don't like fights, I think I can say that we are going to retain that sort of spirit for some years to come, until the other fellow is content to accept our philosophy of life.

We are very grateful to you, Sir, for coming to us. If we were not on the radio, we would apologize to you for the rough weather we are having in Toronto.

"THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARMY EQUIPMENT"

An Address By

MAJOR JAMES E. HAHN, D.S.O., M.C.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, January 28, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: We have the honour to welcome to-day as guest one of our own citizens, one who, though trained in our own philosophy of life—peace and freedom of individual thought and action—yet had the foresight, through the late thirties, to sense another blow-up in Europe, and the courage, in spite of much opposition, to prepare for it in the most practical way possible—the manufacture of guns.

Having been through the 1914-1918 phase of the age-old German struggle to conquer and dominate Europe and the world, and being of a practical disposition, he started to do something about it by effecting an arrangement whereby the old John Inglis plant was taken over and equipped for the manufacture of Bren guns—an undertaking which, need I remind ourselves, did not, at its inception, stand high in public favour. Need I remind ourselves also that this same plant is now the largest manufacturer of Bren guns in the world and that we are just a little proud that it is one of our local industries.

I have been told the approximate number of women and men employed by the company, but I assume that this information was for my own consumption.

A short while back a Board was set up at Ottawa for the development of improvements and of new designs in weapons, and our guest, being recognized as an authority on firearms and ordnance, was asked to assume the chairmanship of the Board. He took on the task, and now, besides being President of John Inglis Company Limited at Toronto, he is also Director-General of the Army Technical Development Board at Ottawa.

Both of these jobs are man-sized jobs and require not only organizing ability but also a fair amount of intelligence.

Gentlemen: I have the honour to present to you a man-sized man in the person of Major James E. Hahn, D.S.O., M.C., who will address us on the subject, "The Development of Army Equipment".

MAJOR HAHN: Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Guests and Members of The Empire Club of Canada. I can only state, in view of your most generous introduction, that I consider it an honour and a privilege to in any way be of service to our Overseas forces.

I am addressing you to-day on the subject of "The Development of Army Equipment", the work with which I am occupied in Canada.

In order to better understand the task with which we are confronted, it is necessary to know how the enemy planned his development programme and what has been accomplished. I will, therefore, first present a brief summary of some of the equipment used by the enemy, which I believe will shed considerable light upon the policy he has adopted.

At the beginning of this war the small arms equipment of the enemy consisted in the main of a rifle, a standard machine gun of various types, and a sub-machine gun. The rifle is an improved model of their 1918 7.9 mm. Mauser, a calibre approximating our .303. It is a single shot bolt action rifle. The action has been improved so that the bolt remains open when the last shot has been fired out of the magazine. In this manner the soldier can tell when his magazine is empty, as he cannot push the bolt home for reloading.

He still has the same machine gun with which he commenced the war in 1939. The one machine gun mechanism is used to fill various roles. The gun is supported by a small bipod when used as a light machine gun, and it is mounted on a heavier bipod when used in the role of a medium machine gun for more sustained fire. This same gun is mounted for anti-aircraft use, as well as on their armoured cars, troop carriers and tanks.

The sub-machine gun which now has a wide application by all armies in one form or another, appeared on the battlefront of the last war just a few months before the Armistice. I well remember picking up one of these weapons in the field during one of the engagements in the summer of 1918 and carrying it back with me to our Divisional Headquarters. I fired it that afternoon and was impressed with the great possibilities that this type of weapon offered for close range work. Their present model is an improved version of the 1918 model. It appears in several forms, one of which utilizes a folding butt which makes it a more compact weapon for the use of Parachute Troops.

He has increased the range of his trench-mortars, and within the past twenty-four months has decided to use a rocket system of propulsion. These rockets consist of bombs of various sizes, which are aimed with a frame or projector, and are propelled through the air in the same manner as a sky rocket.

They also have projectors which are capable of delivering heavy high explosives or oil-filled incendiary bombs covering a large area, and these are employed when accuracy of fire is not one of the main requisites. The calibre of the bombs propelled range from 5.9" to 12.6". Some of the rocket equipment is mounted on wheels, others on semi-tracked armoured vehicles.

In most cases, the equipment consists of multiple barrels or multiple projectors. A representative piece of this type of equipment mounts six projectors, which can fire six-180 pound bombs in twelve seconds, each bomb containing over one hundred pounds of high explosive.

Let us now briefly examine his artillery programme.

His number of field guns has been standardized mainly on five weapons, which range from a 4.1″ gun-howitzer to an 8.2″ howitzer. They have designed the carriage for their cannon so that a gun of one calibre and a howitzer of the next calibre above it, can employ the same interchangeable carriage.

Generally speaking these equipments are still standard with the exception of a few additional calibres, which they have added to both higher and lower categories.

They have also developed their artillery equipment along the lines of mounting guns on self-propelled vehicles for various tactical roles.

From the very beginning the enemy has designed his anti-aircraft equipment to fill a triple role. In addition to being used against aircraft, the design of the mount permitted its use for anti-tank purposes, as well as the additional ground role for anti-personnel use.

Their anti-aircraft weapons at the beginning of the war consisted of two basic equipments. One is a .8″ magazine fed automatic weapon, which was mounted on two types of mounts, the one mount carrying a single gun, the other, a multiple mount carrying four guns.

Both these mounts were designed to be used against aircraft, armoured cars, light tanks, machine gun nests, pill boxes and troops on the move.

When in England recently, I examined one of these weapons. Three of us, never having previously handled one of these guns, were able to take it, dismount it from its trailer, and have it ready for action in ten seconds. I was told that a trained gun crew could bring this gun into action in five seconds. I am pointing this out as it illustrates one of the main design characteristics of German equipment—that is the ability to bring their weapons into action in the shortest possible period of time. Their other main design feature—the highest possible rate of fire.

The second piece of basic anti-aircraft equipment which I have referred to, consisted of 8.8 cm. or 3.5″ "flak", commonly known as the German "88", to which so much publicity has been given. This gun was designed in 1934. The carriage enables the gun to be brought into action in less than a minute, and it also has a very high rate of fire.

They have since introduced two new anti-aircraft weapons, one which is slightly larger than our Bofors, and 4.1 "flak", which may come into more general use on mobile mountings.

The enemy has extended his range of anti-tank weapons more than in any other field. He started the war mainly with three anti-tank weapons—the 7.92 mm. or 30 calibre anti-tank rifle which had an effective range of only one hundred yards—the 3.7 cm. or 1.5″ "Pak", which was used for penetrating light armour only, and the 8.8 cm. or 3.5 "Flak"—the 88 which I have previously referred to, which he used in the ground role, for penetrating medium to heavy armour.

He has since developed his anti-tank power mainly along four lines. His first development has been the tapered-bore gun. I will not attempt to go into the technicality of tapered-bore, or its advantages or disadvantages when compared with the ordinary gun which has a parallel bore. The gun that we are all familiar with, having a parallel bore, simply means that the hole through the barrel of the gun, through which the projectile passes, is the same diameter at the chamber end, as at the muzzle. The tapered-bore gun is simply what the name implies—that the diameter of the bore of the gun is larger at the chamber end and decreased to a smaller diameter at the muzzle end.

The taper bore system is one of the methods that can be employed to give a projectile a high muzzle velocity. The armour piercing projectile that is fired through a tapered-bore gun has a false jacket, or rings around the armour piercing core, that correspond to the diameter of the bore of the gun at the chamber end. As the projectile proceeds along the barrel, these rings or false jacket, are folded against the core until the armour piercing core emerges from the muzzle and is now the same diameter as the muzzle end of the gun.

They have two tapered-bore guns, one a 28-20 mm. that is 28 mm. or slightly over 1″ diameter at the chamber end and 20 mm. or .8″ diameter at the muzzle end, which has an effective range up to 300 yards; the other is a 50-42 mm. gun which has an effective range up to 500 yards.

The second addition to their anti-tank range was a 5 cm. or 1.9″ anti-tank gun which was first used in the Balkans and which has an effective range of from 800 to 1,000 yards.

Their third method of giving their guns additional anti-tank effectiveness has consisted of increasing the power of the charges of their standard gun ammunition. This has enabled the enemy to obtain a higher perforation of armour, and has increased the effectiveness of nearly all of their tank and anti-tank guns with ranges approximating 400 yards.

In addition to increasing the velocity of the projectiles, they have also increased the armour penetrating qualities of the projectiles, by employing special types of ammunition. This applies particularly to their howitzers and low velocity guns and conforms to their policy of developing every avenue which would increase the effectiveness of both their weapons and projectiles for every type of anti-tank use.

Their fourth method of increasing their offensive power against mobile armour, is to mount their guns on gun carriages or vehicles which have been specially designed to enable them to bring each weapon into action in the shortest possible period of time. They have combined their standard guns with standard vehicles or mounts, this combination being called a self-propelled mount. They are using anti-tank guns in this manner mounted both on light and heavy armoured carriages.

They have also continuously increased the allotment of all types of anti-tank equipment to their armies in the field.

The German defensive measures against tanks are still anti-tank guns, and not the tank.

The enemy development of tanks is a story of far-sighted planning.

The Germans ran their tanks during the war in Spain to test their existing tank models and they settled on their basis of design. As a result of these tests they settled upon four types which had the following main characteristics.

In the first place their tanks were roomy. This enabled the tank crew to carry out their duties with the greatest possible degree of efficiency. Secondly, they were designed to provide a good over-all speed. This enabled the tanks to carry out the various tactical roles which they might be called upon to perform. Thirdly, they had a moderately stressed suspension. In other words, the spring or suspension of the chassis provided a very large reserve over and above the requirement of the tank as initially designed. They anticipated, however, that as the war developed, they would most likely require additional armour thickness and increased fire power. Therefore, the chassis and suspension as originally designed, had sufficient reserves to take care of these additions in weight which have been added as the war progressed, and did not require a re-design of the chassis structure. Finally the engines incorporating the original design had a large margin of reserve power. This also provided for the increased weight of armour and equipment which it was anticipated might be required, and which actually was required as the war progressed.

The original designs of these tanks provided for quantity production. After the battle of France, they added additional armour to their existing tanks, and in some cases guns with increased fire power, which were used in the Libya operations in 1941. Since then additional armour has again been added, and in some cases heavier guns, but to-day we are still fighting the Mark II, III and IV which was used by them at the beginning of the war.

While these tanks are improved almost beyond recognition from a fighting aspect, they are still basically the same tanks which went through Poland in 1939. They have put the lessons of each campaign into immediate and practical use and each successive campaign has seen the original tank further improved and in action.

The enemy's engineering equipment had been developed to a high degree of efficiency before the outbreak of the war. This enabled the very rapid movement of the German armies through all obstacles to the French Coast. They have two standard types of bridging equipment and a heavy and light flame thrower.

From the preceding it is apparent that the policy of the German Army General Staff has been to keep the variety of weapons to the smallest possible number, in order to give the necessary operational strength. They have designed these required types for quantity production, with emphasis on the highest degree of fighting efficiency.

There were obviously great advantages to this type of programme, both when applied to a mass production plan and to the training of troops.

As the war and fronts extended, they improved their existing weapons and increased the variety of their equipment. Captured equipment that has been examined does not show the slightest relaxation of engineering standards. The weapons were well made, employed good materials, and elaborate equipment has been incorporated where it might contribute to greater fighting efficiency. There seems to have been little delay between a lesson learned and the production of a counter improvement. In general, the planning during the time the enemy had available to him, resulted in the creation of good and efficient equipment with a minimum variety of types.

This is a brief picture of the equipment which has been the result of an organized development programme. The enemy for years has planned the war, and his develment programme constituted an important part of that organized plan. The enemy too, had the opportunity of testing his equipment in a field of war, and of correcting or adjusting his weapons as a result of the lessons provided by that experience.

We know that for more than five years prior to the outbreak of the war a strategic plan of attack was being formulated by the enemy. This plan included a well-laid, well-planned development programme, designed to provide the equipment the enemy envisaged would be required to successfully carry out his field operations. His development programme concentrated upon his proposed field activities, and made full provision for such additional requirements as might arise from the changing art of warfare. The entire technical and research facilities of the enemy were focused in an organized manner upon the design of the weapons and equipment required for these planned operations.

What a contrast is presented during this same period by the restrictions placed upon our Armies which prevented an even moderate development programme for army equipment so necessary in the interest of fundamental national security! You will remember that during this period, most of the United Nations saw fit to provide only inconsequential amounts for the total maintenance of their small armies. The share or portion of this total amount that could be allotted to the development of new equipment was so small that very little could be accomplished.

In 1939 we were struck with the full impact of war. The enemy had the advantage of having carried to completion an equipment development programme of a scale that compared with the magnitude of the war he envisaged, and was prepared to undertake. Coupled with this was the advantage of the experience gained from the field trials of this equipment.

With the war finally a reality, it is obvious that our first problem became mainly one of the procurement of such equipment as then existed, and its manufacture and distribution to our expanding armies. The problem of organized equipment development had to be undertaken by us at that time as best it could; concurrently with the problem of gearing the nations for production. The harnessing of national industrial resources for production of the weapons of war threw an almost insurmountable task upon the technical resources and facilities available, at that time, in this country. The actual art of weapon-design and engineering had not yet been introduced into Canada. This gigantic task had to be undertaken by Canadians, while they were confronted with the problem of organizing national production on an unprecedented scale.

The creation of the Army Technical Development Board was announced by the Hon. J. L. Ralston, our Minister of National Defence, in the spring of 1942. It was formed to deal with the development of army equipment in an organized manner, while the peak of industrial production was still to be reached.

The Directorate of the Board as originally constituted consisted of representatives of two Ministries; The Ministry of National Defence, represented by the Master-General of Ordnance as Chairman of the Board, and the Deputy Master-General of Ordnance as one of the Directors; The Ministry of Munitions and Supply represented by the Co-ordinator of Production, and the Director-General of the Army Engineering Design Branch; and the National Research Council, represented by the Acting President. Since its original inception, the post of Director-General has been created. He is also a member of the Board and responsible to it. Representatives of the General Staff and Quartermaster-General's Branch attend our Board meetings, and our development projects are made available to the Navy and Air Services.

The function of this Board is to assume full responsibility for the allotment and carrying out of all development projects for new or improved equipment required for our Army. This also includes the responsibility of the development of such projects, as we may undertake as part of the co-ordinated plan of the United Nations. We are responsible for co-ordinating all the necessary agencies to drive through these developments with the greatest possible dispatch.

It is obvious that the practical benefit of a development programme has only been obtained when we have placed new or improved equipment into the hands of our troops.

Projects for development originate in the main from two sources; first, the armies in the field provide us with their requirements, which are ascertained from them in an organized manner. Secondly, we receive suggestions for development from many other sources which we submit to the Army, to be appraised. The Army then informs us whether or not they are interested in the proposed development, and if they are, the Board proceeds with it as a development project.

We are fortunate to have as our Army Commander, General McNaughton, a soldier-scientist, who is keenly and aggressively development-conscious, and whose mind is constantly ranging ahead of existing equipment.

The Army Directorates of the Department of National Defense are charged with the full responsibility of carrying out each project that comes within range of its particular type of equipment. Each Army Directorate is shouldering the heavy added burden of development and is making a distinct contribution to the cause of the United Nations by so doing.

One of the most important tasks has been to complete and co-ordinate our liaison with the United Nations to ensure that there is no over-lapping of development. It has been arranged that the heads of our Directorates have a seat on their corresponding Technical Committees in Washington. Australia and New Zealand tie in with Canadian development through our Canadian Army Staff in Washington. In London we conduct our liaison through our Canadian Military Headquarters, and have representatives on the various British Technical Committees. In London we also exchange technical information with other members of the United Nations. Our Liaison with Moscow and Chungking has been arranged.

This comprehensive liaison provides the information which enables us to consider any weapon, or development of the United Nations as a possibility for our own armies. It also enables us to analyze a prospective development, after having focused upon it all the information obtainable through the technical liaison we have established.

It is, of course, impossible to discuss any of the many projects that we have under development in Canada. Through the Board, the Army Directorates, the National Research Council, and their development agencies, we have organized and harnessed our engineering, industrial, research and technical facilities from coast to coast. They are actively engaged in a most constructive manner upon the great task of providing our troops with the new weapons of war. Furthermore, research development has been organized to range far ahead of requirements for immediate field use; to ensure that we will consistently confront the enemy with new and superior equipment.

Canadian engineers, scientists and technicians, as well as our universities and research institutions, have already made great contributions. Canada and Canadians are playing a vital part in the development of equipment required not only for our Armies but for other United Nations. The disparity that existed in equipment at the outbreak of war no longer exists.

The experience of life has taught us that practical long-range planning, and the vision to see ahead must be part and parcel of any programme that is designed to ensure permanent success. I am sure, that by this time, we have all realized that permanent and enduring peace must be the main objective of a long-range plan of all nations. Let us be sure, in the future, that when we think of development, it will be in the broadest possible terms and envisage every phase of our great heritage, as a constructive, contributing member of the Commonwealth of Nations. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Gentlemen of The Empire Club and Guests: I was amused somewhat by the announcement that was made with reference to Major Hahn's coming to us to-day. He was said to be a member of The Hunt Club, Gun Section. He has demonstrated that to us to-day.

I was thinking, too, while listening to Major Hahn's address, how fortunate we are to have a man of mathematics, a man of physics, a man of other such basic studies, including law—Major Hahn is also a graduate of Osgoode Hall--who could step in at the critical moment and do in one, two, and three years what our enemies have been doing, shall I say, since 1918, which I think is a fact. These comments are all the more unusual to me, because matters of this kind are so foreign to my training and my present activities. I did not sit here "open-mouthed", but that is the way I felt, listening to this marvellous address which you, Sir, have given such enlightenment on the development of the Bren Gun, in particular, such information on the development of German equipment in the way of uniformity of parts, in general.

We thank you, Sir, for coming to us to-day and giving us a great deal more information than heretofore we have had, and we hope that you soon will be able to scrap this equipment and that we shall have peace.

"THE SOCIAL ORDER"

AN ADDRESS BY

WILLIAM H. MOORE, M.P.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, February 4, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Before I introduce the speaker I should like to welcome to our board this afternoon so many out of town guests and should like to draw your particular attention to the fact that The Empire Club is not a partisan organization. It is a very cosmopolitan, democratic, non-partisan, non-political organization. We welcome here to-day the Honourable Gordon Conant, Leader of His Majesty's Government in the Ontario House, and the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, Colonel Drew. We welcome also the Honourable John Bracken, recently elected leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of the Dominion. You will note that the only one missing is the Prime Minister of Canada.

Gentlemen of The Empire Club: It is a distinct personal pleasure for me to have to-day the honour of introducing our guest, William H. Moore, M.P.

Mr. Moore is one of those fortunate persons who have the ability to move from one sphere of activity to another without any loss of momentum and, like Ulysses, to say "All times I have enjoyed greatly".

He graduated in Arts at the University of Toronto, a member of the famous class of 1894. But let not the appellation "famous", as applied to his class lead you astray, for all classes at the University are famous, the degree of fame depending upon whether it is the class of one's own graduation. The class of 1907, for example, is even more famous than that of 1894.

After graduating in Arts, Mr. Moore served his Alma Mater for a time as Fellow in Political Science, then took the course in law at Osgoode Hall, and, after graduating, went into pioneer work in the building of the old Canadian Northern Railway, where he served as Secretary of the Company. This railway is now part of the Canadian National Railway System. In this position he spent much time at Ottawa, where he learned many things that he never knew before in the way of practical politics.

But his first love continued to beckon and eventually he answered by giving himself over to the study of economics and setting down in type the results of his labours. In other words, he became a writer. He is the author of *The Clash, Polly Masson, Commandments of Men, Yellow Metal, Definite National Purpose,* and, most recently, *Underneath It All*—a book which I have read with much interest, a treatise of most compelling reason on the cause of the present world upheaval, from the economic and humanitarian points of view.

Mr. Moore's abilities were recognized by the Government in 1926, when he was appointed Chairman of the Tariff Board, a position which he held until 1930, when he was elected to the House of Commons for the riding of Ontario, a riding which since that time he has continued to represent.

Mr. Moore's abilities have been recognized also by institutions of learning and, to the original Bachelor of Arts, have been added Barrister-at-Law, Doctor of Laws, and Doctor of Letters.

He is also one of His Majesty's Counsel learned in the law—in other words, a "K.C.", and is a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society.

Like the Latin poet Horace, who was "satis beatus unicis Sabinis", Mr. Moore is quite happy to live an actively retired life on his own little Pickering farm.

Gentlemen: Billy Moore, otherwise William H. Moore, B.A., K.C., M.P., LL.D., D.Litt., who will address us on the subject "The Social Order". (Applause.)

Mr. W. H. Moore: Mr. President, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Needless to say, your President is an old friend of mine and I hardly resognize myself in the introduction he gave me. I was pleased, of course, to be invited back to The Empire Club and, looking at the bright side of life, I naturally thought I might have said something the last time I was here that was of service. I am particularly pleased at being invited to come in these days of stress—again in the thought that I may be of service.

And, you know, I am very pleased to have Mr. Bracken here. I hadn't thought he would come all the way from Winnipeg to listen to me. But now that he is here I shall try and give him some good advice. Whether I succeed or not, he alone will decide. I might just add that I give a great deal of good advice in the House of Commons and usually they don't accept it.

I

Now, I have taken for my text words drawn from a lecture delivered by Lionel Robbins, an Economist from the London School of Economics. They seem to me significant. They were delivered in the spring of 1939 in a series of lectures to the Institute of International Studies at Geneva. This is what he said:

> "The age in which we live is an age in which men have worshipped many idols and followed many false visions. It has seen nationalism run mad and collectivism turn oppressor. The ideals of the romantic rebellion have proved dead sea fruit in our hands."

I trust my title has not created a wrong impression, for, frankly I have not come here to advocate a specific structure for the social life of the post-war days that we hope are not so very far away.

There are people who profess to have a solution for all the social ailments at their finger tips; but I confess I have no Morrison's pills in my pocket. With Thomas Carlyle, I cannot believe all the troubles of mankind are to be set aside by Acts of Parliament, not even by Orders-in-Council. The most I can do is to pass on certain observations, largely drawn from the conclusions of those who devote themselves to the study of society, in the hope that they may be helpful in the task now on the door-step of citizenship.

First of all I would (and cannot) clear away certain obstructions to thought that arise from the use of such words as "capitalism", "socialism", "democracy" and words of the sort. Sometimes I wonder if there is a definition for some of them. I once heard a member of the Commons spend half of his allotted time berating socialism and the other half lauding government ownership. As for democracy, Mussolini, in *La Dotrina del Fascismo,* says Fascism is the purest form of democracy, provided people be considered qualitatively, not quantitatively and provided further, the will of the people be expressed in the thought of the Few, or even the One.

There is further confusion arising from considering structures for peace, amidst the upsets of war. Looking back, you will find great wars, turning points in society; crises, the fertile ground of social revolution.

"Strike while the iron is hot." It was the favourite maxim of the master-mind of revolution, Lenin. It was the practice of Hitler. And both Lenin and Hitler struck with phrases calculated to arouse the discontent and antagonism in the minds of people who are not given to thought about social consequences.

For example, take the phrase "Human life is more sacred than property." It is a typical strawman set up on the hustings to be knocked down and trampled under foot. For who ever heard one say that property came first? Irrespective of the schools of thought, we all agree that the function of property is to sustain human beings. Forms of ownership are to be judged, in war, as in peace, in terms of human life.

And now let us set directly to the matter in hand by recalling that, vital as they are, social structures are means to ends. The means are not always to be distinguished from the ends, but the objective of the social structure is manifestly the satisfaction of human wants.

There is truth in the old adage: "It takes all sorts of people to make a world". In South Africa, for illustration, the leaders of native races campaign to encourage the "wanting of wants" that the people may be aroused into civilization. It is not so with us. You will recall the revised version of Goldsmith's couplet:

> "Man wants but little here below
> Nor wants that little long";
> 'Tis not with me exactly so
> But 'tis so in the song."

I shall not stress the application of those lines. We want and want without end. The luxuries of yesterday are the essentials of to-day. Our wants are insatiable and we describe their multiplicity as modern civilization.

II

A different social order! How did we come by the one we had, say, between 1919 and 1939?

One generation usually refuses to learn political wisdom from its predecessors; but our generation has made such a mess of the 20th century we might well look back with humility at the achievements of the 19th century.

We pride ourselves on the machines that roll out of our factories (and almost think when properly wound up, like Tik Tok of Oz); but the achievements of the 19th century fairly stagger the imagination *in terms of* human life. The statistician, Kuczynski (London) tells us that, if the rate of increase in population during the 19th century had prevailed in England since Caesar's invasion, one couple living at that time would by now have 720 million descendants.

The figures seem incredible. They are incredible, until one recalls the wars and plagues and the incredibly bad life in bygone ages. Perhaps what happened in the 19th century comes more within the mind's reach by recalling that within the space of about 100 years the population of Great Britain was multiplied by five; the real wages (or buying power) on the average multiplied by four.

The Victorians prided themselves on having discovered the secret of Progress—the means by which people can go on, and on, with an ever increasing satisfaction of human wants. The Victorians were not given to beating about bushes; when it came to economics, they reasoned that since the objective is the satisfaction of human wants and people possess different capacities for service, everyone should contribute what he had to offer. I give you the formula in the words of Thorold Rogers (Oxford), a Victorian economist:

> "That private and personal interests, as long as they are innocent, are judged of better by the individual than they can be by the state, that if men are left free to work, free to bargain, free to trade, the result would be that in the choice of industry the fittest would prosper much more under competition than it had done under regulation."

And we scorned the idea as a guiding principle of life; and scorned it with one of those phrases which people seldom take the trouble to understand. We said the 19th century was given over to *laisser faire* but, as for us—we would create a better world.

There were abuses in the era we set aside after the last war, but that era is not to be represented as a period of ruthless exploitation of labour. The Mother of Parliaments began vigorously passing Factory Acts for the protection of labour in the eighteen thirties and on the eve of the last world war, although there were still abuses to be corrected, the Average Man had come into possession of comforts that lords and ladies had not dreamed of when government planned the lives of people.

III

What then is the social order the world has had the past thirty years?

Naturally, it cannot be stated in precise terms because it varied from country to country; but in a general way that order was characterized everywhere by an expansion of state authority over economic life. The field of government ownership was expanded until in some countries (as in Russia) it included almost everything; in other countries (as in Germany) government sought to regulate almost every phase of life; while in our country we adopted a "mixed economy"—a conglomeration of the systems—widening government ownership, extending state interventions and all the while holding on, measurably, to personal enterprise.

With Stop and Go signs at nearly every corner, we are now subjected to an organized drive to have the political controls tightened after the war to the extent of conscripting (or confiscating) the means of production. Whatever the decision may be, we have a tremendous advantage over those who had the responsibility of selecting a social structure after the last war. No longer should people be beguiled by promises of "plenty" if they would only turn over the ownership, or control, of the means of production to the state. We should know the truth now:

> "They went to sea in a sieve, they did;
> In a sieve they went to sea;
> In spite of all their friends could say."

The old lines of Edward Lear might have been written of those who, against the protests of the political philosophers, sailed forth under the flag of Social Democracy to discover that Better World.

The venture was doomed to failure. Ships of State, like barges and tugs, have to be designed for the work they are to do. And parliamentary institutions were not designed to transact business; they were designed to provide political freedom; the very precautions taken to safeguard freedom limited the capacity of those institutions for economic action. The defect is not alone in the membership of parliament; it is basic in the structure. Business is not to be efficiently carried on by debate in a large assembly—not even by the members of The Empire Club—and when the membership is subject to change every four or five years, even matters exclusively within the field of the state (e.g. the tariffs) suffer from lack of continuity of policy.

May I illustrate the working of the social structure adopted after 1919 with a page of experience that directly concerns our own country:

Modern economy (as we know) is characterized by specialization of production, with exchange of the products with two great classes (which for convenience may be styled factory and field) differing sharply in organization. The typical factory works with wage-paid labour; the typical farm, particularly in our part of the world, is mainly conducted by the unwaged labour of the family. While the difference in organization is of common knowledge, the consequences do not seem to have been recognized when democratic states began intervening in economic life.

Subjected to organized pressure at the polls, governments, nearly everywhere, provided codes of maximum hours and minimum rates of pay for industrial wage-earners. The movement had public approval, but in view of what happened we ought to scrutinize the consequences:

To the extent factory codes *decreased output and raised prices of factory products,* they brought from the field an insistent demand for parity—and since that parity could not be given by wage-codes, it was given by subsidies, direct and indirect (particularly farm credit) that had the reverse effect of *increasing output and lowering prices of agricultural products.*

The Plan seemed to bring "good times" at first but as Solon once said to Croesus: "In every matter it behooves us to mark well the end for oftentimes the gods give men a gleam of happiness and then plunge them into ruin." So it turned out with us. The price of agricultural products dropped until farmers were no longer able to buy many factory products and, since most people are farmers, the world fell into a Great Dislocation popularly called World Depression.

The Director of the International Labour Office, in the spring of 1932, estimated the number of unemployed at 20 to 25 millions. His successor estimated the number a year later, in early 1933, as 30 millions.

I would like to have considered the impact of state interventions on the relation between nations, but will dismiss the matter with the statement of Professor Condliffe (London) in a report (1938) to the International Studies Conference:

> "The problems that have arisen in connection with marketing in recent years are, in fact, the result of increasing intervention by the nation-state in trading activities. Migration is regulated, imports and exports, the disposal of exchange resources, investment, even tourist traffic are now the subject of complex and effective controls. Moreover domestic policy, such for example as the maintenance of low interest rates or stable wages, cannot be dissociated from external regulation. Economic Nationalism is simply the counterpart of domestic social welfare legislation. It may be defended or criticized in the same way as such legislation; but it is probably as deeply rooted in the present economic trends. The extension of public control over the economic, as well as political, activities of nationals follows naturally in the external as in the domestic sphere. It is assumed that such control will be continued in the foreseeable future."

Economic Planning! Planwirtschaft! Professor Bruck, (College of South Wales) says the phrase was coined by Moellendorff, a high official of the German Civil Service in the last war. It may be so but many years ago William Graham Sumner (of Yale) caught the spirit of the thing when he said: "For A to sit down and think, What shall I do? is commonplace; but to think what B ought to do is interesting, romantic, moral, self-flattering, and public-spirited all at once. . . . To go on and plan what a whole class of people ought to do is to feel one's self a power on earth, to win a public position, to clothe one's self in dignity."

However, it is true; after the last world war, the idea of an authoritarian planned life caught the popular imagination and sent millions walking backwards in search for a better world. The course was perhaps imperative in some countries:

When peace came, a memorandum of the German Economic Ministry (May 7th, 1919), drawn up by Wissel and Moellendorf, stated that there was nothing else to do but to maintain the system known during the war as 'war economy'.

The world still talks of the Great Experiment in Russia; but one would have thought the Greater Experiment had been conducted in Germany. When Russians adopted a system called socialism, they almost immediately adapted their form of government to its administration, but the Germans put to the test the intriguing phrase that "Democracy needs Socialism", and the results are of open record:

From 1919 to 1933, political parties came and went in Germany with "the times". When the Social Democrats had tried to "manage" money and credit according to the insatiable "social needs", and mismanaged the currency almost to the zero point; people began listening to a bid for power from the National Socialist Party that promised stability. "Socialism needs an iron will". "Plans need continuity". "There can be but one Party in the

Socialist State'. Those were the phrases that began flying about.

When some 6,034,000 working people had become unemployed, the politicians of democracy "lost face". Germany had been literally torn apart and the people cried out for a form of government expressly designed to manage an Economic State.

IV

It is in that background prudence bids us shape the social order we are to have in post-war days. However, if you decline to think the wreckage of Social Democracy from Moscow through Berlin to Madrid has no lessons for us, then I shall pose several specific questions and call in the experts to answer them. You will judge for yourselves the competence of the witnesses in their respective fields.

First, let us turn to the contention so conspicuously before us to-day that parliament *can* plan the economic life of this country. I call in that most distinguished Socialist, Bernard Shaw, who, speaking of the Mother of Parliaments to the Fabian Society, said:

> "Of all madnesses which afflict this country I should think the worst is to expect that this instrument called parliament, made and developed for the express purpose of checkmating government, and of unrivalled efficiency for this purpose, can possibly be an instrument of Socialism or Fascism, of any modern system which requires a continued governmental activity."

Or it may be, in the diversity of interests, your primary concern is over class economic interest. In our day most of us belong to some sort of a group seeking to exercise pressure on those who govern us. If you think to press your cause and still hold on to democracy, I cite the sobering opinion of the author of *After The Deluge,* Leonard Woolf:

> "Democracy treats every man and woman politically simply as an individual and as an equal political unit; non-democratic institutions treat people not as individuals but as members of different classes and gives them different political rights because they are born in different classes, pursue different occupations, or hold different political views."

If you happen to belong to one of the two principal schools of collectivism that so intensely hate each other, then I would have you recall that, whether the Socialist State proceeds by government ownership (as in Russia), or by class regimentation (as in Germany and Italy), there is practical uniformity in the form of the government of the Economic State. Speaking of Germany, Bruck points out:

> "The role of the party as the dynamic force in the State is the same as in Russia, though Stalin is general secretary of the Party and not President of the Soviet Union, or in Italy where Mussolini is the leader of the Party whilst the king remains sovereign. Hitler, however, combines in himself the leadership and the sovereignty."

Freedom! We make the rafters ring with a protest that—no matter other people—we would never be slaves. But freedom is not to be preserved by enthusiasm alone; not even by throwing back those who would enslave us by invasion. If we want to preserve our freedoms we must preserve the footing upon which they rest. We are being told, in all sorts of phrases, that the individual must surrender much of the freedom he has had that the group, or the nation, may come into possession of a New Freedom. (The phrase smacks of Mussolini's interpretation of democracy.) Recalling Solon's advice to Croesus, let us look to the end of the road as set out by Gilbert Murray (Oxford), a distinguished philosopher. He says:

> "In the totalitarian state, whether Fascist as in Italy and Germany, Communist as in Russia, or merely

> Nationalist as in Turkey, Iraq and Japan, the group has for the time being not merely completely routed the individual; that is only half the story. The nation as a whole is deprived of its powers of thought and speech just as the individual is."

Is there anyone in Canada who places standards of living above regard for self-government? Canadians by free enterprise obtained about the world's best living standards; I do not know anyone at Ottawa—no matter the form of government—that could do better for us. When people tell me otherwise I ask, with Knapp, an economist of the Netherlands who, writing of the world depression, exclaimed:

> "Will one never realize that it is absolutely impossible to make all the countless wheels of our extremely complex society fit into any mechanism which the human brain is capable of inventing, no matter how ingeniously it be constructed?"

Many people are tinged, and some fairly blistered, with resentment over the unequal distribution of the national income. Would it be better to have a smaller cake with a more equal division of the slices? All I can say is that the Socialist Soviets tried to bring about an approximate equality of wages and brought themselves to the verge of collapse.

> "Levelling results in that the unskilled worker has no interest to become skilled."

How do I know it was so? Well! Stalin said so.

Capitalist Imperialism! I cannot spare the time to analyze the persistent charge that wars are caused by the pressure of capitalist groups bent upon exploiting backward people. Nor would I have mentioned it, had not direct charges been so recently levelled against the policy of Britain and the Netherlands, in the Orient. But whatever the conflicts arising over foreign investments in backward countries, it would appear to be gross injustice to prohibit the export of capital, and seem reasonable to think conflict would become intensified were states to become capitalists. Lionel Robbins (University of London) may have been right when he said:

> "A world of national socialist states is analytically on all fours with the world of primitive times when the rival hordes owned and had 'sovereignty' over the lands over which they roved, and when the existence of rich soils, good hunting grounds and accumulated treasure, side by side with poor soils, lean hunting grounds and inferior accumulations, was a standing cause of brutal and total war."

Are we then never to realize the hope we have for that Better World? Within the past several weeks, many correspondents have asked the question, and I had to reply: To be effective, hope must be practical.

If by a better world we mean the abolition of poverty, the spread of prosperity, the basic freedoms, I believe—whatever the lot of other people—we may have a better world in Canada. But first we must re-discover the lost secret of Progress—*the development of individuality.*

We, the people—several millions of us—are at once the means and the ends of the social structure of this country. Shall we plan, as individuals—voluntarily—for ourselves; or shall we depend on a few people, called government, to plan for us—by compulsion?

Do not misinterpret the issue. I am not speaking of demobilization days. We may hope they are right, those people who predict general obsolescence will provide full employment for at least several years after peace, but the Government will not be able to let go overnight. When I speak of the citizens' choice between the social orders, I have in mind the long-term run of peace we hope to have after the war. Even then, the men who govern us will have economic problems to solve. I am speaking specifically of the offer of political parties to take over the means of production and decide about our wants. It is an old, old practice:

"Your fish were caught, from oldest time,
By dint of nets and hauling."

Just a hundred years ago, the people of Britain were subjected to the very drive we face, and from political parties with marked resemblance to the two wings of modern collectivism. In the words of Toynbee, they replied:

> "Your system of patronage and of patriarchal government is now physically impossible. Newspapers, railways, great cities, have made the workmen independent. The old system may linger on a while but its extinction is only a question of time. You are trying to revive the habits and relations of a bygone age; but the workmen having once tasted the sweets of independence, will never go back into dependence."

That decision was made in the distress of a period known as the Hungry Forties; and out of it, British people came into the fullest life of the Old World—and the freest. Our statesmen are not more able than Disraeli, Bright and Cobden, and we, with the natural resources of the New World at our feet, should not be less able than our grandfathers.

The history of mankind is largely a record of a struggle for power—struggles of men for power over their fellow countrymen, and then on to power over others. Even world power. It is a far stretch from Alexander, with his horse Bucephalus, to Hitler, with tanks and aircraft; but the principle is unchanged. "Power always corrupts and absolute power absolutely corrupts." Even good men are not to be trusted with meticulous control over the lives of millions. Lord Acton came to that conclusion in the 19th century and we know in our hearts, Acton's conclusion is true of our day. War imposes authority; but in the present crisis let us plant for the reflowering of freedom.

"It is all very complicated!" you say. I know a man (he was an M.P.) who used to say life had become so complicated he doubted people could go on living.

But there are certain phases of social life that are controversial only because people blur the records.

For one thing, collectivism should no longer be allowed to masquerade as a *new* social order. No longer allowed to blame the ills of society on capitalism. For nearly three decades all imaginable schemes of the collectivist order, in varying degrees of intensity, have been tried out. The issue is not now what may be; the issue is what has been.

After 1919, collectivism gained converts by thousands and millions because it promised to abolish poverty. If that promise had been fulfilled probably most of us might have gone to school with Karl Marx for poverty is a terrible thing. But nowhere was the promise fulfilled. The other day, while discussing the social structures in Hamilton, I suggested we test them by their records of performance in relieving people of the struggle for food, clothes and shelter. Let the social order with least poverty be declared best.

But there are other tests.

When individuals and their voluntary associations were fairly free to exchange their goods and their services, the Western World was more prosperous than it had ever been; for the most part peaceful; and there was at least some respect for the integrity of nations.

But once the politicians had taken over control of economic life *within* states and the police had been called in to regulate industry and commerce, it was not long before soldiers were called out to dispose of trade *between* states.

Violence breeds violence.

. In their struggle for power, politicians of the collectivist schools promised (and still promise) to relieve us from the competitive struggle to satisfy our wants, if only we give them power to plan economic life. But when the thing had been done we found the competition of individuals at home had been exchanged for competition between states, releasing forces destructive beyond measure. The more complete the plan, the more terrible the conflict.

These things may be ignored; they cannot be erased. They are so written in the history of our times.

I conclude: Individuals, alone, are gifted with the faculty of reason; individuals, alone, possess that priceless thing called conscience. When the last word has been said: the way to the better world, like the Kingdom of Heaven, is within us. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Mr. Moore, the President of The Empire Club is in no position to comment upon this address. It has appealed to me as a wonderful address, and I am sure it has so appealed to each and every member of this audience and to all of your hearers. An address like this is not prepared without much thought, a very great deal of thought, and with a very great deal of care. We may carry away with us, I think, the idea that the development of the individual and the development of individual personality, are really the ideals after which we should strive. To that should be added the legal maxim that every right has a consequent obligation, that I may exercise my rights so long as they don't infringe upon the rights of anyone else.

You will be glad, Gentlemen, to know that Mr. Moore has gone to the trouble and the expense of having this address printed and that a copy will be available for each one of us as we leave the room. (Applause.) Not only that, but Mr. Moore suggested to me that I should announce that in the ante-room he would be very glad to receive personal criticism of this address and that he would welcome any letters any of you might wish to write to him by way of criticism or further enquiry.

We thank you most sincerely, Mr. Moore, for the trouble and the time and the energy that you have taken to give this to us for our own personal consumption. It is a labour of love and we are very grateful to you for it, sir. (Applause.)

"NORWAY IN WAR AND AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE"

AN ADDRESS BY

CARL J. HAMBRO,

Former President of the Parliament of Norway.

Chairman:

The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, February 11, 1943

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: One may well say that the darkest day in all Norwegian history was April 9, 1940. It was on that day that the Nazi hordes, barbaric descendants of their cruel ancestors, the Goths, the Visigoths, and the Huns, by treachery and foul deceit, under cover of false flags, false uniforms, and false faces, slipped into the harbours of peaceful Norway, and, without warning, without provocation, without a declaration of war, before a stunned and incredulous people, took possession of the country. It was indeed a day of national crisis.

But at the head of the Government, as President of Parliament, was a man who had gripped the imagination of the people and had the utmost confidence of all classes. His great concern was to keep the invaders from forging their way into Oslo, the capital city; from capturing the King, the Parliament, and the Government; and from preventing the legal life of the country from functioning.

Acting upon his advice, the Government was moved about eighty miles inland to the town of Hamar, and, for the next two months, until, through difficulties and dangers, he succeeded in getting King Haakon safely to

England, the very existence of his country was largely in his keeping. It should be noted, also, that gold reserves of some hundred million dollars and a merchant navy of four million tons, were safely removed.

That man of resource and destiny, Gentlemen, was Mr. Carl J. Hambro, who not only then was but also for sixteen years had been, President of Parliament. He was also a student of International affairs, was Chairman of the Norwegian Committee on Foreign Relations, and, since 1926, had represented his country in the League of Nations, being President of the last League Assembly in 1939. Even to-day he is Chairman of the League's Supervisory Committee.

But Carl J. Hambro did not confine his efforts to statecraft and politics. He is, or rather was, a mountain climber and a football player. It is interesting to note that he was first Captain of the International Football Team of the University of Oslo and one of the heads of the National Football League. He is a linguist, having translated some fifty books from English and French into his own language; he is a prolific writer with some twenty volumes to his credit: is an editor having been Editor-in-Chief of the leading Conservative newspaper in Norway, and, mirabile dictu, of the leading humorous weekly. Here, Gentlemen, is a "consummation devoutly to be wished": the leading Conservative newspaper and the leading humorous weekly from the desk of the same editor.

Carl J. Hambro, otherwise Dr. Hambro, is presently head of the World League of Norsemen, Chairman of the Norwegian-American Foundation, Vice-President of the Institute for Co-operative Studies of Culture, Editor of his own Political and Literary Review, known as *Review of the Week,* and last, but by no means least, a member of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament.

During the short time that Dr. Hambro has been on this continent, he has given many lectures on problems of government and on aspects of the New World Order, and is now resident in Princeton, New Jersey, where he is a special lecturer on International Affairs, at the University.

When one adds to all these activities the fact that he is the father of a family of five, one has no difficulty in understanding why he has already developed on this continent the reputation of being the most versatile and hard-working man in public affairs.

Gentlemen: Doctor Carl J. Hambro, who will address us on the subject: "Norway in War and at the Peace Conference."

DR. CARL J. HAMBRO: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I really am somewhat embarrassed after having listened to the eloquence of your President. It called to my mind a story of the man who was introduced by a distinguished gentleman and started by saying: "I hardly need to tell you that gentleman was not speaking the truth, but nevertheless I rather liked what he said."

To me it is a great privilege to have been asked to address you here to-day, particularly in the City of Toronto, for reasons which you all know. Norwegians here feel very much at home and feel that they are not only among allies but that they are among friends. (Applause.) And that kinship in spirit, which I think any Norwegian, who has travelled in Canada before and has had the honour of co-operating with representatives of Canada in International affairs, has always felt very strongly, has been developed in a modest way during these few years of war. Norwegians who have had the good fortune to come to Canada and to train for service in Canada will always feel very closely in touch with the life of Canada and will never forget the gratitude we all owe to Canada for her hospitality and friendship and co-operation during these last few years.

Now, many of you have probably often wondered what is really meant by the term Government in exile. How can it function? What does it mean? There has been a good deal of misunderstanding in this respect, particularly on this side of the Atlantic. Too many people have been under the illusion that a Government in exile is just a group of destitute aliens constituting, more or less, a financial burden on the United States and on the British Empire.

Now as you probably all know in Toronto, Norway so far has been able to pay her way all through. (Applause.) And incidentally Norway is the only country in Europe that has continued after the invasion to pay the full interest and amortization quota on all its external loans. Not only that, the Government of Norway, desirous of giving evidence of its faith in the future and of its will that no Americans should lose because they had confidence in Norway, has undertaken to pay for the duration of the war, full interest and amortization quota of such municipal or local Norwegian loans as have been arranged through American banks.

The people of the National City Bank and some other institutions nearly got scared when they realized that this was true. It did not correspond to their experience, and they did not fully understand that feeling of loneliness which Norwegians very often have had at International Economic Conferences, because we still hold to some old-time superstitions, one of them being that debts should be paid. (Applause.)

We have been able to abstain from making any use of international philanthropy so far. We have been able to do business as we usually have been doing business by paying our way, and it has been the first duty of our Government in exile to try to build up again the fighting forces of Norway as far as such a thing can be done outside the country itself.

The Government of Norway is the only government in exile which is under the specific protection of its Constitution, because the Norwegian Constitution has an article declaring that with the consent of Parliament, the King and the Government can reside outside the soil of Norway in a national emergency without any time limit;

and at the last meeting of our Parliament after the invasion it was unanimously decided to authorize the King and the Government to reside outside the soil of Norway if it should prove necessary for the future of the country. And it was no rump Parliament that assembled at Hamar that day. When the roll was called, of 150 members of Parliament 146 were present. And every decision taken was unanimous.

We have tried to build up an Air Force and to build up again a Navy and an Army. I need not speak here very much of the Air Force, because the Air Force has been speaking for itself. (Applause.) Both here, in France and Belgium, over the North Sea, over Iceland, and wherever it has been in action! And you know here in what way that Air Force has been recruited. All those boys have gone out of Norway at the peril of their life; if they were found out they were shot. Some have come across the North Sea in small boats; other's have sneaked out over the border to Sweden some dark night and then by air to Moscow and round the world by way of Vladivostock, Japan, the Pacific Ocean, or by way of Odessa, the Black Sea, Ankara, Bagdad, Bombay and round the Cape to America. Boys who have gone round the world in order to fight for an idea make pretty good soldiers. You all know the Norwegian Air Force. But maybe few of you realize that the Norwegian Navy to-day ranks as Number 4 among the United Nations' navies, and that we have more men-of-war on the seas than we have ever had since the day of the Vikings. When we had to evacuate Norway on the 7th of June 1940 there were only eleven men-of-war that left Norway that day. Most of our ships had gone down in fighting the Germans. And fighting in Norway was pretty hard. There were more Germans killed in Norway than in France, and the German Navy lost between one-third and one-fourth of its capacity in the attack on Norway. A great many of their administrators and Gestapos on board the ships went down among the 25,000 Germans that were killed at sea.

We have to-day around 100 war ships. Of course most of them are small ships, but active, practically all over the world. We cannot publicize the names of our fighting men as some nations can, because they have their families in Norway, and if their names were given out, their families would go to the concentration camps or to the torture chamber, so that perhaps too little is said in the press. And even those among us who should know, are sometimes surprised. I received a letter some time ago, the stationery of which surprised me to a certain extent. It was marked on the head, "Royal Norwegian Navy, Middle East Command, Egypt." Not until then did I know that Norwegian minesweepers have been on duty around Crete and Malta in those Mediterranean waters where the flag of the Royal Norwegian Navy has probably not been seen since the year 1103, when the big Norwegian Armada of Crusaders ran up to Constantinople. Some of the boys will have had an experience which they will never forget. In a letter which I received later from the same source was told the story of what to some of the sailors seemed the most extraordinary incident in their lives. They had been torpedoed in various oceans, and being torpedoed did not impress them very much, but what impressed them in Egypt was that one day they received an invitation from the Eighth Army to take part in a football match. Their English friends had heard that there were some good Norwegian football players, so they asked for a team from the Navy to be taken up in the Libyan desert. The boys from our minesweepers were taken up in trucks, and they had their football match with the British soldiers, and it was the proudest moment in their lives when they came out victorious, 3 to 2. It is the one thing they will never forget.

We have ships on duty around South Africa. We have a naval station in Australia, and some of you may think it is very surprising that we should be there. To us it is rather natural because we had grown accustomed to look upon the Antarctic as a sort of Norwegian lake.

Every year we had some 10,000 sailors in the Antarctic on our whaling boats.

Now when you think of the war efforts of many of these small allied powers, their numbers are not impressive, but still it is of such a tremendous moral and psychological importance that they should be fighting as they are fighting. And when you think sometimes of the conditions under which men are doing their duty, I should like to send a thought to the Norwegian seamen. In a message from Australia before Christmas last year, General McArthur stated that the "backbone of morale in the American Army was letters, letters, letters." Now we have had between 25,000 and 30,000 sailors on board our merchant ships that have been unable to get any letters or to send any letters to their homes. They have no news. They know that the Germans have tried to confiscate the food ration cards of their families because the seamen refused to accept any orders from Germany, but still they have been carrying on all the time without any doubt, without any hesitation.

I had the honour to speak in the Town Hall in New York the other day, with a young Norwegian seaman who had spent 48 days and nights on a raft in the North Atlantic after being torpedoed. There were nine men on board that raft, where they had no provisions when they started out. He was asked from the audience, "What was your first thought when you were picked up alive?" And he said, "Our first thought was that now we could get out again and fight the Germans." (Applause.) That has been the spirit of all those people; and we have lost more proportionately than any other nation, because we have been more in the danger zone. We have lost more than 370 merchant ships that have been bombed or torpedoed, and we have lost some thousand seamen on board the merchant ships, but still we are carrying 40% of all the fuel used by the United Nations' armies and nations, and still we are carrying 30% of all provisions reaching England on Norwegian keel.

You will realize what that Norwegian merchant marine has meant for the war effort. The war could not have been carried on in the first year without that fleet, and the British Minister of Shipping could say in full and perfect truth that the service rendered by the Norwegian Merchant Marine meant more for the war effort than an Expeditionary force of one million men landed on the Continent of Europe. (Applause.)

When the war broke out, just to mention a figure to illustrate, Norway had a merchant marine of between six and seven million tons, and most of the modern effective tankers in the world. The United States had 775,000 tons of Diesel motor ships. We had more than three million tons. In the Norwegian Merchant Marine 49% of the ships were under ten years of age, and you will find no such statistical figures in the Merchant Marines of any other country. We are an old shipping nation, and it is sometimes rather startling for us to hear explanations concerning shipping given in the United States and elsewhere. There was a lady speaking in Congress two days ago who told that the Americans had been suffering on the seas because they had to compete with subsidized under-paid ships from other nations with a lower standard of living. Now the only Merchant Marine in the world that has never been subsidized at all is the Norwegian Merchant Marine, and the standards of living are higher in the Scandinavian countries and in Switzerland than in any other country in the world.

Our ships are manned by Scandinavians practically without exception and they are better paid than any other seamen in the world except on some of the United States ships.

So we are not particularly impressed by the claim that at the Peace Conference it must be necessary to grant certain privileges to protect the mechant fleets of the nations who have a high standard of living. We do not demand any privileges. We only demand to be allowed to compete on equal terms, and we will be ready to do that without much doubt as to the outcome in our minds.

A leading ship owner in Norway some time ago, the head of the biggest individual shipping firm in the world to-day, the Wilhelmsen Lines with a fleet of some 600,000 tons of ships, most of which are over 10,000 tons, and none of which is over ten years of age, was threatened by the Germans that they would confiscate everything that he had in Norway, his property, his fortune, the houses belonging to members of his family, etc., if he did not comply with the German demands. And the very unspectacular man, who is the head of the firm, said to the German High Commissioner, "You can confiscate all that I have. Five years after the peace I will be a greater ship owner than any firm in Germany, because we are better shipping men; but if you confiscate my honour, I will be unable to continue when the war is over." (Applause.)

And that has been the spirit all along.

The ships have been put under Government operation partly to protect the individual ship-owners in Norway against German reprisals. They can answer in perfect truth that they "have nothing to do with the ships." They cannot influence a single man on board any ship. The Government took over the merchant marine also to protect the ships in all neutral harbors and on every sea.

Now, when the Norwegian Government has been able to finance its budget of the day it is mainly on account of the Merchant Marine. Not that ships are making much money to-day—the administrators in England and in the United States have looked to it that freights are very low, only the best of ships can sail with any surplus to-day, and that very modest. But all these ship owners in Norway continue to pay from the income of the ships, all the taxes and duties levied by the Norwegian government under ordinary circumstances—and shipping was pretty heavily taxed in Norway. And all the people on board the ships pay their taxes. We have not touched our gold reserves, they are kept for the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction after the war, but Norwegians all over the world have been willing to make their contributions. Norwegians in South America, for instance, have spontaneously and voluntarily paid taxes to the Norwegian Government in London. They have taxed themselves and are paying a very high income tax, and they have shown their understanding of the exploits of the Royal Air Force by sending four fighting planes from Norwegians in South America to Toronto, and we ought to get more before the war is over, even if, as we trust, the war will not last as long as some people are inclined to think.

To build up an army is of course much more complicated, but gradually more and more people are slipping out of Norway and over to England by way of Sweden or going across the North Sea. Some 11,000 men have crossed the North Sea in open boats, knowing the dangers, for everybody is shot if he is observed by the Germans. And we have some thousand young boys that are waiting in Sweden to be taken over by air to England and over to Canada to join the fighting forces of Norway, and more and more are getting across the border.

It has been a very romantic way of recruiting Armed Forces and every man who has got out and every woman have had their own odyssey. In the Museum outside of Oslo you can see, when you come to Norway after the war, and you are heartily invited, you can see some of the original Viking ships that have been taken out of the big mounds in Norway where kings were buried in their ships one thousand years ago. In that Museum will then be included some of these small open boats in which people have rowed or sailed from Norway. There is one little boat with two pairs of oars, in which three men rowed more than 500 miles across the North Sea, to arrive in England.

One of the stories told from this museum might interest you. One day a group of German naval officers had been looking over those ships and some small Norwegian boys had been following them around, one of the urchins asked a naval officer what he thought of those

Viking ships. The German spoke in a condescending way and answered that historically speaking they were not uninteresting, but of course they had no importance to-day and were very crude. The little boy grinned and said, "Well, sir, on board those ships my forefathers used to invade England successfully every year." (Applause.) Some similar stories will be told of some of the boats that will be in the museum when the war is over.

The most impressive thing in Norway and in Europe, and to my mind in the world, to-day is the home front in the occupied countries, the passive resistance which is sometimes very active under incredible conditions. Nameless men and women are giving more than their lives every day to resist the German oppression, and it has been proved for the first time in several generations that the economic idea that material welfare and a higher standard of living was the most important thing in national and political life is a dangerous fallacy. Millions of men and women having been given the choice between the highest possible material welfare and security on one side and the torture chamber and firing squad and some invisible privileges like freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion on the other hand. There has been no hesitation. In their life and in their death they have given the proof that in the history of nations daily bread turns to stone unless they have those invisible privileges for which generations have fought and died in years gone by. (Applause.)

And nowhere has the moral and spiritual issue of this war been more sharply and clearly defined than in Norway where the Germans hoped, because they never understand the mentality of other nations, that they would get a free acceptance of their ideas. Of course, they had to leave at home a good deal of the ordinary German slogans—the Norwegians are far more Nordic than the Germans can ever become—and they came to a country with higher wages, better schools, with higher standards of living than in Germany, so they had to tell the Norwegians they could be part of Germany, they should be their Nordic brothers, and they should get back all their lands that had been Norway's in the Viking days—the Orkneys, the Shetlands, and so—they should just embrace the Nazi ideals, and teach them in the schools. But the Norwegians were unyielding. Thousands of teachers were sent to prison. A good many of them were tortured, some of them were shot. They were all treated in a way that is absolutely incredible. Hundreds of them were deported to labor camps behind the Russian Front in the extreme north. But the Germans did not find anybody who was ready to serve the Nazi ideas, and the school children and the parents kept up the fight, which forced the Germans to close the schools in Norway for three months. Then the Germans had to retreat. They had ordered that only teachers who were willing to become members of the Nazi teachers' organization should be allowed to teach, and as nobody was willing, their line of retreat was a proclamation that any teachers who taught any children should be looked upon by the authorities as belonging to the Nazi organization even if he protested.

And in Norway the Church did not stop to be attacked. The Church took the offensive. which will be of tremendous importance in every country when the war is over; and the Bishops of Norway have written one of the most glorious chapters in Church history. Their protests against Nazi doctrines were followed by all denominations in Norway—97½% of the population belonged to the State Church. But the Roman Catholic Bishop of Norway and the Council of Dissenters declared that they were behind the Lutheran bishops and, as you probably know, finally they resigned. Every bishop sent in his resignation in the same words, because the Germans were unwilling to respect the secrecy of the confessional and failed to fulfill the demands put to them by the bishops. This resignation meant simply that the church ceased to be a State church, that it severed all connection with the State. The bishops declared:

> "I now divest myself of that which the State has deputed to me. The spiritual duty assigned to me through

> ordination at the Lord's altar, is still mine with God and with right. To be a preacher of the Word, supervisor of the congregation and spiritual adviser of the pastors is and will continue to be my calling. I will in the future look after this so far as it is possible for a non-official to do so.
>
> "But to continue the administrative co-operation which exercises might against the Church would be to betray the most sacred.
>
> "With Luther, we have tried in our service to be loyal to the authorities as far as Word and Commandment permitted. But as it came for Luther, so also it comes for us, the moment when we must follow our conviction and exert the Church's rights against the State's injustice.
>
> "Forms of Government may change, but with its Church father, the Church knows that against that which Luther called 'the tyranny' stands God himself in His Word and with His power.
>
> "Woe unto us if we did not here obey God more than man."

(Applause.)

All the members of the clergy followed the bishops. In the whole of Norway there were 20 and odd preachers who were willing to give some kind of co-operation with the Germans, some of them have already quit, and last Sunday a man who was a brother-in-law of one of the members of the Quisling Cabinet, announced from the pulpit that he broke and severed all connection with Mr. Quisling's party, that he repented having accepted to be nominated Dean of that Diocese, and that he agreed with the bishops and would try to do everything in his power to make good his mistake in being willing to a limited co-operation.

Since April of last year the Primate of the Church of Norway, the Bishop of Oslo, has been kept incommunicado in a little log cabin some miles out of Oslo with a bodyguard of picked German S.S. men with hand-grenades and sub-machine guns and fixed bayonets, illustrating the German conception that the Word can be killed with bayonets and machine guns, illustrating their entire lack of understanding of the supreme fact that the spirit is stronger than the sword.

They find not only in Norway, but in every occupied country, that in a nation with sound democratic traditions, it is of no avail to kill off potential leaders, as the Germans have been doing in every country, because every man and woman in such a nation is a potential leader, and for every one killed ten step forward to continue the work—nameless men and women, who are perhaps the most real heroes of this war. It is to be hoped that when the war is over monuments to be erected in the various countries will not be monuments to the victors but monuments to the victims—(Applause)—monuments that can make future generations understand how incredibly loathsome and cruel and filthy is modern war, monuments to commemorate all these nameless fathers and mothers who have been tortured, who have seen their children taken as hostages, who have been on the point of starvation but still have carried on.

At the future Peace Conference these small countries have no territorial ambitions, as you all know. They want to live in a world that will be secure against any repetition of what has happened, they will even more heartily than before support an intelligent world organization of countries built on a democratic basis. They will be willing to give up the fictitious ideas on which the Covenant of the League of Nations was framed, that all states are equal, equal not only in quality but in quantity. On the League, unanimity was required for every decision. Great Britain had one vote and San Salvador had one vote. The smallest national union of 200,000 souls had as great a formal power as the nation of 100 millions or 200 millions.

We want to build a future world organization on practical hard realities, and we are willing to make any sacrifice, not of sovereign rights (because that hardly existed in the world living in anarchy) but of sovereign prejudice if such a workable world organization can be built up. We know that in any such attempt we will have the full-hearted co-operation of all the peoples in the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Applause.)

We have found before this same conception of loyalties, of democratic ideas, of love of freedom and of liberty and of open and honest speech in all the Dominions, and we have been proud and happy to collaborate with them on so many occasions. All these smaller countries, not only in Europe, all the not too big units will be needed more than any others, because they are not under suspicion of having imperialistic ambitions (if such exist to-day), and they have a clearer understanding of certain problems in human and international life.

I was just reading on the train as I came up here an article by the American writer, Walter Duranty, who said it would be necessary after the war to have practically a United States control over the earth—because the U.S. had no imperialistic ambition. The United States, he said, has to protect the world against Russian and English pride —it is a very sweet idea. And the longer the war lasts, the graver the danger that in certain Great Powers the official propaganda machine will call forth just those imperialistic ideas and conceptions against which we are fighting. Within every Great Power there have always been men willing to take over the rule of the earth to protect it against the imperialism of other nations. We are apprenhensive of such men, and we fear that the moral and spiritual issues of this war shall be gradually overshadowed by political and military issues and considerations of immediate expediency.

What is uppermost in the minds of so many people in the small countries can be said to be two things: They are afraid that there will be a premature peace. We never hear any complaint from the starving populations. We have not heard a single voice from any occupied country demand an immediate peace. They are afraid that there shall be a Great Power compromise with the principles of evil. They feel the necessity of fighting this war to an end, and dictate upon the aggressor nations our moral conceptions of right and wrong, of honesty and decency between man and man and nation and nation. They know that no written treaty has any lasting value unless the parties signatory to it have the same moral definitions behind the words of the treaty. If a contractual obligation is a matter of life and death to you and me and means nothing to the other party, there is no safeguard in any paper document. That is why we cannot accept any negotiated peace.

And there is also another thing that is very much in the minds of all the occupied countries. They do not demand any revenge or private retaliation, but they claim justice.

More organized crimes have been perpetrated in this war than in any previous war. And the victims and the witnesses are not morally impressed when people who have sacrified nothing and not suffered anything declare their willingness to forget and forgive. It is a Commandment of our religion to forgive those who trespassed against us. But no human being has been authorized to forgive trespasses committed against others. And those men and women in various countries who publish their willingness to forget and forgive are looked upon as moral accomplices of the Gestapo, as accessories after the facts to the killing of hostages, to the wiping out of entire populations, to the murdering of millions of Jews and Poles and Czechs. Only those who have been active in suffering and active in fighting have a primary right to be heard directly at the Peace Conference. (Applause.) And the problem of reconciliation after the war will not be to reconcile the Totalitarion nations to their defeat but it will be to reconcile the tortured nations of Europe and Asia, to heal the moral and mental wounds that would fester the future of mankind. If all those nations should continue in the future under the impression that there was no justice, that nothing was more easily forgotten than the sufferings of others, that certain nations can kill, can torture, can burn and destroy with impunity their minds would be poisoned. That is why all the Governments of occupied countries, with the support of other United Nations, have put among the Aims of War and Peace, to set up international courts of justice to pass sentence on individual criminals who have violated national and international law, not in any sense of cruelty but in a deep sense of justice as far as human beings are able to see and understand justice. And if that moral and Puritan demand for justice should not be heard at the Peace Conference, blood, sweat and tears will have been shed in vain.

The small nations are not in any doubt as to the final outcome of the war, but they know that to win the war will be futile unless we also win the peace. They trust that all these smaller nations, all those who have come into this war with clean hands, and who remember all the time that the war is not carried on by the United Nations for any questions of political power or prejudice or privilege, but to establish a rule of honour and decency in the world, will make their weight felt at the Peace Conference. They feel confident that the common people in all democratic countries will unite to demand at the Peace Conference that, perhaps for the first time in human history, all those material and immaterial interests which build up nations will be given a direct representation. The International Labour Conference in 1941 unanimously adopted a proposal from the United States Government delegation and supported by every single United Nations government, claiming that organized labour and organized industry should be directly represented at the Peace Conference. And not only labour and industry, but agriculture, trade, education, the churches, the professions, practical men and women, because it is the outstanding experience of twenty years of international collaboration that where practical men and women meet to discuss practical problems they arrive at tangible results, and wherever diplomats and politicians have met we all know that the practical results have been hardly perceptible. May be it is not too much to believe that at a future Peace Conference even parents, fathers and mothers, the homes should have a certain vote when the future conditions of civilized human life shall be decided and laid down. The great Spanish writer, Ortega Gasset, wrote a few years ago that for two thousand years mankind has tried every experiment in government except government by intelligence, and it might be worth while to give it a trial.

The small nations hope and trust that they will prevail upon the nations that had bigger opportunities for sinning than had been allotted to them, prevail upon them to make this a kind of intelligent peace; and they believe in the common sense of the pioneer countries. The small nations have been forced to think internationally, because they have always been in danger, for them a peace is a matter of life and death, not something more or something less, but a question of survival. We have faith in all the democratic nations of the world, and we want them all to understand that what is most needed for peace-making is time and patience. And when the tortured nations can afford to wait, certainly any nation can afford it.

Only a dictator needs immediate results. He has no dimensions. He is only a point in the history of his nation, he has no past and he has no future. Democracy is the very life dream of nations. Some years more or less do not mean very much in the history of any free nation, but it means tremendously much that when the war has been won in so near a future as possible, we shall stand united, and not slacken in any way our self-discipline, the feeling of a common destiny that binds us together until you and we and the rest of us have finally won the peace.

(The entire meeting rising to its feet applauded long and heartily.)

Mr. John C. M MacBeth: It is not hard to understand why, for sixteen years, Sir, you gripped the imagination and held the confidence of your own people. We have been gripped by your imagination and we have been inspired by your words.

May I say that it is unusual in this Club that an address should be interspersed with so much applause, and the fact that you received that applause is an indication of the thanks and gratitude of your listeners.

I was intrigued by the statement that you made with reference to the provision in your Constitution which made it possible for you to transfer your government, the seat of government, outside the territorial boundaries of your country. I was thinking of what happened here in Canada about two or three weeks ago when, for a certain purpose, being the birth of a daughter to the Royal House of Holland, a small section of Canada was made a part of Holland. Now I think that it would be just grand, Sir, if you would bring some of your four million tons of shipping and some of your hundred million dollars of gold reserves, and would establish a little section of Norway right in our midst, a section greater than that which is now established here and which we appreciate a hundredfold. And I would suggest further, Sir, that as head of that establishment you should send your charming Crown Prince and his delightful Princess, both of whom I had the pleasure of meeting yesterday.

We are delighted, Sir, to have had you here this afternoon. No further words of mine could express to you the pleasure and appreciation that have already been expressed by the audience. (Applause.)

"EXPERIENCES IN A JAPANESE INTERNMENT CAMP"

AN ADDRESS BY

JOHN WESLEY PALMER

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, February 25, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Amongst the guests which we have had the honour of receiving during many months, we have, so far, had no one from inside the enemy lines in the Far East. To-day that pleasure is ours.

Our guest was born in Norwich, England, and, in 1925, went to Japan, where, with headquarters in Tokyo, for the next sixteen years he represented a British insurance company underwriting fire and marine risks. The nature of his business brought him into close touch with people of commerce and, as he travelled extensively throughout the Islands and also in Korea and Manchuria, he was enabled to acquire a broad and diversified and intimate knowledge of the Japanese people and their attitudes.

In 1940 he realized that trouble was not far away and, fortunately, prevailed upon his wife to take their young son and go to Canada. He himself followed towards the end of 1941 and was actually on a Japanese ship in the middle of the Pacific when war broke between the United States and Japan. The ship turned back and, avoiding attack from United States submarines, docked at Yokohama, where our guest was interned. There he remained for seven months, until the end of July last year, when, by an exchange arrangement, he was put aboard ship and started on a journey which was, after eighteen weeks, via South Africa and South America, to end in Toronto. He will speak to us from fundamental knowledge and from personal experience.

Gentlemen: Mr. John Wesley Palmer. (Applause.)

Mr. J. W. Palmer: Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club: In accepting your invitation to speak at this luncheon to-day, I regard it as a great privilege to have the opportunity of telling this distinguished gathering something of my experiences during the last fifteen months, and also of being able to reach, through the marvel of broadcasting, that great unnumbered public to whom the radio is now an essential household adjunct. I have observed with no little concern, I frankly admit, that the list of speakers at previous gatherings of this Club has included some very distinguished names. I am afraid I can lay no claim to distinction of any sort. I am but one of a large number of ordinary business men formerly stationed in different parts of the world and occupying positions of varying responsibility. I happen to have been placed by my company in Japan for the last sixteen years and on the outbreak of war to have been caught, as it were, on the wrong side of the fence, although only just.

During the months preceding the momentous events of December, 1941, our life in Tokyo was passed in an atmosphere usually described as one of growing tension. The situation was what is known as steadily deteriorating. In point of fact, this meant simply that all those Canadian, American, British or other nationals who could do so were leaving the country. Those of us who were left felt for the most part that it was only a matter of time before the break came, and we hoped that we too would be able to get out before the crisis. The press became more uncompromisingly hostile in its attitude towards the United States and the British Empire. All shipping, except official boats mainly for repatriation purposes, had ceased.

Mails, we knew, were being censored and the greatest care was necessary when using the post office telegraph. The official British evacuation ship had come and gone. Business was at a complete standstill. Above all, there was the whispered advice of the few Japanese who still dared to have any contact at all with the remaining Americans and Britons to get going while the going was good; or in their own words—"better to leave before very serious matter occurs". It was true, both literally and figuratively, that we were living on the edge of a volcano. We were waiting all day and every day for something to happen. Well, as you know, on the 8th of December, 1941, something did happen.

On that fateful morning those Allied nationals still left in Tokyo and other parts of Japan were arrested in unexpected places: the street car, the train, passing the station barrier (a favourite place for the watchful plainclothesman), walking in the street, at breakfast or even in the bath. I was one of a small company of Britons and Americans on a Japanese liner—the *Tatsuta Maru*—enjoying our second Sunday of the week in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. The ship was on a special mission to Panama, via Los Angeles, but turned back to Japan and arrived in Yokohama on the 15th of December, 1941; whereupon we were promptly locked up with thirty others in the building formerly occupied by the Yokohama Yacht Club.

May I pause here to acknowledge your kind hospitality by contrasting my position to-day with the situation in which I found myself a year ago?

On the 25th day of February, 1942, we had just completed ten weeks—seventy days—of internment under wretched conditions. The curtain seemed to have rung down on life. We were an unhappy hopeless crowd. No official word of possible repatriation had yet reached us, although there had been a rumour which we simply dared not believe. We felt we were "in" for at least a couple of years—possibly four: that is to say, this time a year ago we had, as we thought, just completed about one-tenth of our time as political prisoners, and very probably not more than one-twentieth.

To-day I am the happy recipient of kindness and goodwill; am once more amongst my own people, and when I say to you, Sir, "Thank you", I say it most sincerely.

To return to the Yokohoma Yacht Club. On arrival there we were thoroughly "frisked", and all our personal belongings, including neckties, taken away. We were then shoved down below in a locker room for five hours. A scratch lunch of rice and fish was provided.

I had hoped to see some of my friends and exchange commiserations with them. When passing through the main hall of the building no one took the slightest notice of me. I was shocked to observe the change in appearance of several friends and acquaintances as we were hurried down below. I learned afterwards that they were still recovering from the effects of many hours, and, in some cases, days in filthy police cells where conditions were abominable and degrading. A week's growth of beard, makeshift neckerchiefs and shabby clothes, from which vermin were still being removed, had not improved their appearance.

That evening we were allowed upstairs into a separate room at one end of the building. Conversation or communication of any sort with the other internees was strictly forbidden under threat of being thrown into the cells.

Thus began the long period of waiting—of monotony, dullness and utter cheerlessness—that ghastly period when the first effects of the blow were wearing off and we began to realize that the thirty-six men imprisoned in this building included *us.*

Our guards, for the most part, a crowd of ill-dressed, evil-spoken, ignorant fellows brought in from out-lying districts for this special duty. Many of them had never had any contact with Europeans and they regarded us with ill-concealed distate. One of the more unpleasant effects of being stared at contemptuously week after week by these arrogant little men was to provoke in us an almost uncontrollable rage which simply had, somehow, to be mastered. The feeling was one of primitive fury which, if unleashed, would certainly have resulted in bloodshed.

The police remained on duty all night talking loudly and clattering round when the guard was changed quite oblivious of the wretched inmates trying to snatch a few hours sleep on the floor. No beds were provided. We slept in rows on police quilts which, though dirty, did ease the intolerable hardness of the floor.

New Year, normally an important holiday season in Japan, was a grim time. After a couple of weeks we were informed that our probationary period was over and that we could mingle with our fellow internees. This we very gladly did, and many were the tales unfolded. In the meantime, every few days some unfortunate inmate was whisked away by the hated gendarmerie and disturbing rumours got round that these poor fellows had been thrown into prison.

The roll was called at half past seven in the morning and at eight in the evening. We were ordered to bed at half past eight, and lights were extinguished at nine. This rule was strictly enforced. No noise was permitted. One night a group of internees was severely reprimanded for indulging in a little community singing about nine fifteen. The sergeant in charge shouted out that we ought to be bowing our heads in shame at the thought of the ignominious defeats suffered by our countries instead of being frivolous and noisy. For the first two weeks the police insisted on the lights being left on all night in accordance with the custom of the Japanese who, in their own homes, rarely, if ever, turn off the lights after dark. Happily we managed, after many protests, to get this order countermanded.

Breakfast was served at eight o'clock, lunch at about twelve and supper at five thirty. Breakfast consisted of two slices of cold toast thinly smeared with margarine, tea and milk served up in urns, without sugar; lunch a small portion of fish and vegetables with two slices of bread. Supper was the same as lunch. In plain words the food was rotten as regards both quality and quantity and was very badly cooked. All too frequently the fish course consisted merely of crushed sardines served up as fish cakes—a foul tasting concoction. Except very occasionally no sugar, potatoes, meat, eggs or fruit were provided.

During those early weeks I learned for the first time in my life something of the real meaning of hunger. It was an experience I do not wish to repeat. Later, the organizing of outside supplies helped very materially not only to preserve the health of the camp, which, generally speaking, was surprisingly good, but also to keep up morale. This question of morale was one of vital importance. Up to the latter part of March we were a grim crowd. Later our spirits were sustained by the hope of repatriation and these extra supplies.

We were without heat throughout the winter. I lived in a couple of raincoats, double underwear from a more fortunate internee who had some extra clothes, and felt none the worse for the experience; although I'm afraid some of the less rotund members of the camp suffered considerably. The club-house, not having been designed as a permanent residence, was, consequently very badly ventilated at night, and it was not until several internees had been overcome that we were able to get permission to open the windows, which, like all the doors, had been carefully fastened and locked every evening at about a quarter to eight. Here I would say that being boxed up, in a country where earthquakes are frequent, gives one a most unpleasant feeling.

We were not able to get our baggage from the *Tatsuta Maru* for more than three months, and during that period I lived in the same suit with such extra underwear as I could borrow, together with some weird "ersatz" garments sent in by a friend. For sixteen days we had no change of linen at all and very little opportunity for washing. Our condition at the end of that time was beastly. My pyjamas, for instance, consisted of an elderly rain-coat, which meant, of course, that I slept in my underpants.

Then, too, we were not allowed to shave. We all grew beards of varying length and texture. I may claim in this respect easily to have outstripped my fellow internees. I discovered a truly magnificent growth and spent hours carefully training it until I developed some curls, which an American fellow internee described as being worthy of Henry VIII.

About one month after our internment we were given a hot bath. Subsequently we were allowed a bath once a week. Sheer desperation drove several of us to the cold showers. We started on the 28th of December and thereafter every morning at 7 o'clock the bathroom reverberated with the shrieks and groans of big bold men splashing themselves and each other with icy cold water. The winter in Japan can be severe.

Our first outing took place on the 18th of February, ironically enough, to "celebrate" the fall of Singapore. We were allowed out for about two hours under heavy guard to meet at the local park our fellow internees from the Race Course camp. I should explain here that there was another camp in Yokohama at a place called Negishi, near the Race Course, housing between fiifty and sixty internees. Thirty minutes conversation was permitted.

On April 2nd we were again allowed out, also with the Race Course camp for a cherry blossom viewing party. The authorities emphasized that this outing was a special concession. Japan is rightly famous for its cherry blossoms, although in the south part of the country the trees yield no fruit. During the few days in early April when the trees are a mass of clinging colour, the whole population observes the national custom of greeting the first tangible signs of spring. On this occasion we were escorted to a well-known park on the outskirts of Yokohama where the blossoms are particularly beautiful. As a matter of fact the party was nearly called off on account of our refusal to carry Japanese flags through the streets.

This again is the national custom on special occasions. Fortunately our camp leader was able to explain to the satisfaction of the police and with exaggerated expressions of regret our inability to comply with their request, which, luckily, was not an order. Heavy guards and propaganda speeches were features of the programme. By special arranging with the Protecting Power, Church parade was authorized on April 12th, the Sunday after Easter. Needless to say there was a full attendance. Incidentally, this service was probably the last to be held in the English church as I learned later that the building had been taken over by the Japanese Government and was converted into a local Hitler Youth Club.

From the beginning of May weekly outings were allowed. Internees with families were permitted to go home from nine in the morning to four in the afternoon. Those without homes were esorted to the local Country Club. This Club, normally the social centre of the European and American communities in Yokohama, was taken over by the police one day a week for the benefit of the internees. Nobody was permitted to enter the club house or grounds; in fact neutral members were warned to keep away from the district. Whilst the break in the monotony of our existence was welcome it was a peculiar and depressing experience to sit around in these spacious premises completely cut off from our friends in the outside world. Several of the internees had been formerly prominent in the Club's activities and at least one past-President wandered disconsolately round the grounds each Wednesday thinking and dreaming of happy times now, it seemed, gone forever.

Apparently fearful of the dissemination of "dangerous thoughts" or other alleged subversive propaganda, the authorities absolutely prohibited any meeting or speechmaking amongst the internees themselves, although ordinary conversation was freely permitted. We would gladly have formed classes for educational purposes to try to pass the time—in fact, we did run a small Bible class unknown to the police—but organized gatherings for any purpose whatsoever were forbidden. One evening, about half past six, a quiet talk on Spiritualism among some dozen internees was interrupted by a couple of uniformed guards, and only an urgent plea by the camp interpreter, accompanied by cringing apologies, saved us from being reported to Headquarters. Eventually a Church service on Sundays was permitted. Several missionaries were interned in the Yacht Club, and they obtained permission to take turns each week to conduct services on behalf of the different churches.

Now, despite all misfortunes, man is an adaptable creature, and towards the end of the first month we made a serious attempt to organize the camp and to make the best of a bad business. We had to do everything ourselves, except the cooking (of the culinary art, more later) ; housework, general cleaning, sweeping, washing, bed making, airing, etc., and the care of the toilets which were freely misused by our captors. All these duties were, in the main, welcomed as helping to pass the time. The building was well equipped with all facilities, but at first the greater part was locked against us until we succeeded in overcoming the indifference of the club attendants, who, our servants only a few weeks previously, now enjoyed asserting their authority.

In addition to the regulation meals which, as mentioned before, were mainly cheap fish, odd vegetables and rice prepared without salt (ask your wife what that means!), outside supplies, when obtainable, were permitted twice a week. Of the nine of us, known as the "Tatsuta Group", four managed to establish outside contacts, and extra forks, spoons, plates, together with an invaluable little charcoal stove, soon made their appearance. All supplies were shared equally among the group, even to an occasional solitary but precious apple.

Then we began, by a painful process of trial and error, to supplement our miserable fare by learning to cook. Two of the group quickly showed themselves gifted in this direction and were unanimously elected chief cooks. I had the less distinguished position of chief washer up.

Towards the end of the internment many varied and tasty little dishes were served by a robust, reverend American missionary and a blunt British business man.

A change for the better took place in April when the low class police, already referred to, were superseded by regular officers from the local station. These guards were, on the whole, friendly and reasonably courteous. The club ground was placed at our disposal and, though too small for football or cricket, was the scene of many enthusiastic games of softball. Anglo-American games were the leading feature of the camp's organized exercises. We British quickly learned to "root" as strongly as our American friends. The games gave rise to strong feelings and much healthy quarrelling. The exercise, of course, was a god-send. Seventeen times round our patch of grass was the measured mile, and many seventeens were covered during the eight months of our detention. Serious disputes among the internees were happily rare. Of actual fisticuffs there were none, due, I think, less to the threats of the police to imprison anyone discovered fighting than to the general recognition that, whatever our differences in outlook or background, we were fundamentally, brothers in distress.

There is no time to describe in detail my fellow internees. All types and ages were thrown together. The inevitable levelling process was, on the whole, a good thing for all of us. British and American citizens predominated, and there were Greeks, Dutch, a Brazilian and also one unlucky lad with no registered nationality, who was under detention for nearly six months before obtaining his release.

Towards the end of February the first hint of unbelievably good tidings filtered through. A rumour, supported by odd paragraphs in the local press, persisted that some of us might be evacuated.

Then on the 27th of March the Argentine consul officially announced that a repatriation agreement between the various warring governments had been concluded and that for some of us there was a good chance of evacuation. A week later we were officially advised that evacuation would take place at the beginning of May, and that, all examinations having been completed, we need no longer fear the danger of imprisonment.

Imagine our feelings when only three days after this heartening announcement we learned that the evacuation had been postponed for a month. On top of this bad news came the sudden removal by the detested gendarmerie of two more internees. I must here say a little more about this chicken-run aspect of our internment. No one, not even the police, knew who would be the next to be removed or when or why. One man, an American missionary from our Tatsuta group, was taken from his bed one evening in March, put on the train for Osaka, a night's journey, and imprisoned there on arrival. Altogether about 25% of the camp suffered in this manner. The removals invariably took place without the slightest warning and sometimes to the accompaniment of rough treatment, abuse and threats from the moment the victim's name was called.

We had known from the beginning that there was a second internment camp in Yokohama at the Race Course. The natural assumption in the early days was that those friends and acquaintances not in the Yacht Club were at the Race Course. When we met our fellow internees from that camp on February 18th, alarm and apprehension were rife on both sides when it was discovered that many of our friends were absent. This could only mean that they were in prison. Later it was ascertained that, including all Allied nationals and Fighting French, more than fifty prominent business, sea captains and missionaries, including the senior Anglican Bishop in Japan, were in solitary confinement in the Yokohama gaol; that is to say, men of all ages and in all walks of life. The oldest internee at the Yacht Club was seventy-six, the youngest just nineteen. The oldest prisoner on Yokohama we learned was seventy-four, the youngest a mere youth. In addition to actual removals from the camp, many of the internees were subject to intensive "grilling". No force was used, but in some cases the questioning lasted for days. Invariably the person singled out for this form of minor persecution was called a liar, or was accused of lying at intervals of not longer than five minutes; this vicious technique being employed deliberately to confuse the victim or infuriate him into making some "damaging" admission. These sessions with the despicable gendarmerie were a severe nervous strain for those unlucky enough to be singled out for attention and taxed the morale of the whole camp. As I have not said so before, I may state here that the Japanese gendarmerie are a perfect imitation of the German gestapo. I cannot describe these sub-human creatures in any language that would survive editorial supervision!

May I now shelve personal matters and speak briefly and in necessarily rather general terms of the Japanese as our enemies? It is satisfactory to note that there have been in recent months quite serious efforts both in the press and on the public platform to try and explain to the peoples of the United Nations, and especially the people of this continent, something of the nature of the grim adversary who prepared so carefully over a period of years for this war, and who, broadly speaking, has been, so far—we have to face it—conspicuously successful. Evacuees returning home after detention in various parts of the Far East have told their story. Journalists have had access to the press. I am especially pleased to learn that Mr. Joseph C. Grew, former United States Ambassador to Japan, has made a number of speeches on the same subject, and I hope his remarks have received the widest publicity. His recently published book, *Report From Tokyo,* is well worth careful study.

It seems to me that for the average person who tries to weigh up the strength of theJapanese, there is no one personality on whom to focus his interest, fears or any of the emotions evoked by the mention of Hitler. In Hitler we see the very incarnation of the system with all its rottenness that we are fighting in this war. I make no comment on Signor Mussolini, but content myself by referring you for particulars of that gentleman to the speeches of Mr. Winston Churchill. The public has to try and think of the Japanese Military as a group in the same concentrated manner as they think of Hitler as an individual. At the same time let us remember the Japanese Prime Minister, Tojo, who, although not well-known or so universally hated and despised, is no less potent a force for evil than his two more notorious colleagues. General Tojo is the head of a system of government as callous, as total and, certainly, as ruthless as any in Axis-ridden Europe. The great majority of the stories told of the brutality and fanaticism of the average Japanese soldier are true. Some days ago I had roughed out a few notes on this point, but I am now only too glad to refer you to the moving speech delivered last week in the United States by that courageous woman, Madame Chiang Kai Shek, who, in a measured assessment of the Japanese military, told the American people bluntly that Japan had gained more than Germany in this war and was potentially stronger. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to enlarge upon Madame Chiang's speech.

I may, however, try to convey to you some idea of the vastness of the present Pacific conflict. Recalling that the coast to coast distance across this Dominion is rather more than 3,000 miles, it is worth noting that the distance from Yokohama to Singapore is 3,500 miles, from Shangai to Hongkong some 850 miles, and from Hongkong to Singapore 1,400 miles. The distance from Pearl Harbour to Sydney, Australia is 5,000 miles, and from Manila to Yokohama is 2,000 miles; from Rangoon to Singapore is 1,100 miles. The length north to south of the Philippine Islands alone exceeds 1,000 miles. I quote these round figures just to show you that the Japanese, by their conquests, have established themselves in a vast fortified area in the Western Pacific, an area which daily becomes more grimly defended and which includes some of the richest and most prolific territories as regards both produce and people in the whole world. Do not imagine that I am attempting to depress you by these remarks.

Far from it. Of the outcome of this titanic struggle there is now happily little doubt, but we must not for one moment permit ourselves to relax in the smallest degree our efforts not only towards ending this struggle, but towards ending it victoriously at the earliest possible moment. There is, I think, even a danger that with the knowledge that ultimate victory is a certainty, we may by reason of this very knowledge, fail to prolong that all-out effort so urgently required to cope with our immediate emergencies.

So much publicity has been given to Nazi Germany, that it is necessary to strike a balance in these matters, and to turn not only the spotlight, but the glare of a searchlight, on the equally warped and twisted mind of the fanatic Tojo and the company of grim fanatics ranged behind him. May I say at once that I do not include the Emperor of Japan. Frankly, I deprecate the hurling of cheap abuse at the Emperor. By all means go for Tojo and the other military and naval leaders. The amount of abuse heaped on President Roosevelt and Mr. Winston Churchill in the Japanese press would supply the entire world with news print for six months, but up to the 30th of July, 1942, I was not aware of any derogatory references to our King. The person of the Emperor, blurred by the halo of semi-divinity by reason of his alleged descent from the Sun Goddess, is the core of the whole Japanese nation. To us this legend may seem reminiscent of the story of our childhood. It is, however, dangerous to smile tolerantly because it is just here that the strength of the Japanese as a nation lies. The present military clique is taking full advantage of this and similar ancient beliefs. After this mess is cleared up I cannot but feel that the Emperor himself may well be the Allies' greatest asset when the time comes for the establishment of a more settled form of government in Japan.

I conclude these remarks by suggesting to you briefly two lines of thought.

The first is to appeal for balanced thinking on the whole subject of this war. Do not emphasize one Axis group at the expense of the other. All are equally important and dangerous enemies, even Mussolini. I have to-day directed attention to one section of the Axis of which I can claim personal knowledge, but it is a section that, notwithstanding its already proven strength, and, I regret to say, potential strength, we are inclined to push into the background of our minds. This we must not do.

For my second line of thought I would refer you back to the period of internment. I know what it is to have lost my freedom, now, thank God, restored to me. I appeal strongly for a maximum war effort that the liberation of those millions—and let us never forget them—to whom freedom of thought and movement is still denied, may be hastened as quickly as possible. Try to imagine the feelings of those men, women and children when the United Nations find themselves faced at last with a victory as total as the total war forced upon them: the indescribable relief from tension, the dawn of a new, if wondering, hope, and the incredulous realization that there is still some vestige of humanity in this world.

Let us then look to the time and work for its speedy coming when we, who represent freedom retained, may work harmoniously with those other nationals now unhappily enslaved by Axis tyranny, who will represent freedom regained, to encourage the growth of a better understanding between the nations of this world. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Mr. North Winship, the United States Consul General, and an esteemed member of this Club, will move the vote of thanks.

MR. NORTH WINSHIP: When my esteemed friend, Mr. MacBeth, asked me to thank the speaker this afternoon, I accepted with certain trepidation because it is as much a surprise to me as it probably will be to you. However, I am speaking to you as a member of The Empire Club, and a pretty regular member. (Applause.) I accepted with trepidation because I have never been in

Japan and I have also never been in insurance. However, I felt from pretty close contact some of the experiences and tragedies of this war and I feel very strongly that Mr. Palmer, whom I have had the pleasure of seeing before, has understated his story. I think there is a great deal more he could have told us. I think he has understated it because of modesty and I should like to point out his value to the Allied Nations. I believe that his knowledge of Japan and his knowledge of industry, especially of the industry in Japan, will be of great value to us when the time comes for the Allies to strike at the heart of Japan, as President Roosevelt encouraged us to believe the other day when he said that he would strike at Japan from all sides; I think that Mr. Palmer will be of great value and I know that his counsel will be not only solicited but very much appreciated.

I know he has given us certainly a very vivid, a very tragic, a very serious picture. Your attention and your applause have shown how you feel about it. I can therefore only express my sentiments and I know that I am expressing yours in thanking him for coming before us to-day and giving us his very wonderful story. We want him to know how happy we are that he has come through looking so well and still in good health.

In the name of the members of The Empire Club, I therefore have much pleasure in thanking Mr. Palmer for his illuminating and very interesting, though grim, address. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: You have heard the expression of appreciation of your address, voiced in the able words of Mr. North Winship, and you have heard the way in which it has been received by the members of the audience. We thank you sincerely. The meeting is adjourned.

"CANADA'S EASTERN ARCTIC"

AN ADDRESS BY

MAJOR DAVID LIVINGSTONE McKEAND, M.C.

Chairman:

The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, March 4, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Our guest to-day is one of that great company of men and women who, during the last fifty years of the development of this great Dominion, have given so unselfishly of their time and talents and are growing old in the service of their country.

David Livingstone McKeand was born in Hamilton, Ontario. His first permanent job on leaving school was with the Bank of Hamilton, where he was employed for twenty-two years, taking time off from 1899 to 1901 to serve with the First Canadian Contingent in the Boer War. David Livingstone and Africa! He left the Bank to join the Canadian Pensions Commission, again took time off to fight another war—this time with the 58th Battalion—in which, at the Somme, he was severely wounded. He was awarded the Military Cross, and, on his return to Canada, joined the Board of Pension Commissioners and transferred to the Department of Mines and Resources, the Department which is responsible for the administration of the Northwest Territories. He has been in the Federal Government service for the past twenty-six years.

The Northwest Territories, as we need not be reminded, is administered under the authority of the Northwest Territories Act, which provides for a Territorial

Government composed of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, the Deputy Commissioner, and five Councillors appointed by the Governor-General in Council. Mr. McKeand is Secretary of the Council.

It is probably a surprise to most of us to hear that the Northwest Territories comprise approximately two-fifths of the entire area of the Dominion and that in this vast territory the population is less than 20,000, including Indians and Eskimos. Until twenty years age, the only industry was the trade in furs, but latterly oil and minerals are being discovered in ever increasing quantities. the reindeer and eiderdown industries are being developed, and, as a recent Bureau reports says, "The exploration and development of the resources of this vast land are a challenge to this and future generations."

Major McKeand has crossed the Arctic Circle just fourteen times, and, both from his official position and from his personal knowledge, has more information about this great country than has any other person.

Gentlemen: Major David Livingstone McKeand, whose subject is "Canada's Eastern Arctic". (Applause.)

MAJOR DAVID LIVINGSTONE McKEAND, M.C.: Mr. Chairman, Members of The Empire Club of Canada in Toronto: Needless to say I am deeply grateful for the invitation to come here and to tell you something of Canada's northland. As you know, I am a civil servant. The responsible minister who administers that part of Canada north of the provinces is the Honourable T. A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources.

I told you I was a civil servant. There are quite a few of them in Ottawa now and the story is told that one of them approached a young lady, who had recently come there, with a view to matrimony. She said, "Well, do you get good pay?" He replied, "What there is of it is good."

So, Gentlemen, what I have to say to you I hope will be good.

We are inclined to smile, somewhat indulgently perhaps, when told of the kindly gentleman in the Old Country, who asked a visitor from Midland, Ontario, to be sure and look up a near relative at Pleasant Bay, Nova Scotia, and an old friend at Carman, Manitoba, on his way home. These places are about 950 miles apart, in a straight line from Midland. Doctors and Mounted Policemen and missionaries, returning home from two or three years service in the Eastern Arctic, may be asked by relatives and friends here in Ontario about a hospital at Aklavik or the reindeer herd at Kittigazuit. Both these places are sure to be more than 950 miles from where they had been stationed in the north. It is not unusual, for some of us sojourners in the Eastern Arctic, to be asked "What kind of motor cars are seen on the Alaska highway" or "The type of aircraft used for making 'The Northwest Passage by Air'." These are fair questions—we Canadians want to know about our own north country but authors of text books and publishers of maps have not been able to keep abreast of developments in the Northwest Territories. Much of our knowledge of northern Canada can be traced to tales of adventure of 100 years ago—or newspaper stories of more recent times. The C.B.C. is doing a grand job in educating our people on Canadian geography through the Northern Messenger Service and by dramatized broadcasts on outstanding events in Canadian history.

About 20 years ago, Sir William Price organized a Canadian-wide competition for the best essay on the "Geography and Resources of Canada North of 56 Degrees". There were many competitors—the prize essay, written by Dr. E. M. Kindle, of the Geological Survey of Canada, was published in the *Field Naturalist* for March, 1928. The article attracted such widespread attention that the Minister of the Interior had it suitably illustrated and issued as a Government publication. The foreword to this story of long summer days contained these words:

> "In recent months many men of wide vision in different countries, attempting to come to some conclusion as to just what parts of the world are likely to make the most striking progress in the next few decades, have commonly fixed on Canada as the one country certain to witness very great development within the near future—and to judge by developments in the past few years—that part of our country north of 56 degrees is likely to be well to the front—if not in the lead—in the coming era of expansion and prosperity. It is for the man of vision to decide just what line his particular effort will take in this great Northland—Any man's land!"

In less than two decades there have been great developments by men of vision—and women too—north of 56! These men and women are true pioneers—worthy successors of ancestors who came from the Old Land to make homes away from home—and they have laid the foundation of our nationhood.

The unfolding of the Eastern Arctic, perhaps not quite so well known or spectacular as some other northern developments, nevertheless is likely to become very important in the near future.

Canada's Eastern Arctic is a very indefinite term—in Government circles, it has come to mean—that part of the Dominion serviced annually by the Eastern Arctic Expedition. It is almost triangular in shape. Its base lies along the northern limit of wooded country between 60° and 105° west longitude and its sides come to a point at the North Pole. It has an estimated land and water area of more than 1,500,000 square miles and a population of 230 whites and 6,300 Eskimos. The annual expedition, sponsored by the Minister of Mines and Resources, on the recommendation of the Northwest Territories Council services the Government, fur trade and missionary stations in this large area. Most of it lies within the boundaries of the Northwest Territories (a historic name to us Canadians) but, in addition, the expedition makes regular calls at points in Labrador, Quebec, Manitoba and

Greenland. For practical purposes Canada's Eastern Arctic is only accessible by water and air. The dates on which harbours or, more properly speaking, anchorages, are clear of ice vary according to latitude, ocean currents and prevailing winds. Beyond 62° north latitude, however, there are no beacons, lighthouses or other aids to navigation, nor have Admiralty charts been brought up to date for modern shipping. Local knowledge and experience are required if shoals are to be avoided and safe anchorages found north of Hudson Strait. Eskimo pilots hand down, from father to son, their knowledge of seamanship and navigation which they learned from whalers in the last century. These pilots can be relied upon to bring steamships of 2,500 tons and more—drawing upwards of 22′—through narrow channels—often reduced in width by ice floes and grounded bergs, to safe anchorages—at all tides—close to Government stations or fur trade posts. Without the assistance of native pilots and the help of native men, women and children to handle cargo—the itinerary of the Eastern Arctic Expedition could not be completed in the short season of open navigation.

The extension of the Hudson Bay Railway to Churchill, Manitoba, and the T. & N.O. Railway to Moosonee, Ontario, has had the effect of making the Eastern Arctic more accessible to Canadians living in central and western Canada. But the oldest route, and the one still best suited for operations from points in Eastern Canada and United States, is by ship along the Labrador coast. Two courses then lie open—first, westward through Hudson Strait to Hudson Bay and James Bay. Second—northward between Baffin Island and Greenland to Lancaster Sound—southward through Prince Regent Inlet to Bellot Strait, thence westward through the Northwest Passage to the Mackenzie Delta. This was the course, only reversed, taken by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in their motor schooner *St. Roch* last year when the northwest passage by water was made for the first time in history.

The names of straits and sounds and inlets, islands and capes and mountains, along this route bear silent tribute to the enterprise, courage and endurance of those intrepid navigators who, for more than three centuries, sought a northwest passage by water from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The 12-year-search for the lost Franklin Expedition almost a century ago, led to the discovery of many islands in the Arctic Archipelago. These islands were transferred from Great Britain to Canada in 1880.

Our knowledge of arctic topography has been gained largely from coastal observation. Baffin, Bylot, Devon and Ellesmere Islands form Canada's eastern boundary north of Hudson Strait. This eastern coast line is generally high and rocky, with many deep inlets or fiords. The land rises quickly from the sea to snow-capped elevations of 5,000′ and more. Glaciers run down the many valleys and add their quota of icebergs to the stately procession from Greenland. The ice caps do not extend far inland—the interior gradually gives way to rolling hills, rough plains and broad sea beaches. There are numerous lakes and ponds. The land is practically free of snow in summer—well covered with arctic vegetation—a fine grazing area for caribou, reindeer and musk-oxen—almost ideal breeding grounds for geese, eider ducks and other migratory waterfowl.

It can be admitted at once that the Eastern Arctic summers are short and the winters long and cold. The polar night has usually a clear sky—when the moon, stars and aurora borealis shine out in all their brilliance. White residents agree that enough light is usually available in winter, even in the higher latitudes, for all necessary outdoor occupations. With the return of the sun the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, fur traders and missionaries start on their patrols by sledge and dog team while Eskimos begin visiting and moving to summer hunting grounds. The white men return in time for the annual overhaul of boats, to repair and paint buildings, straighten paths and white-wash stones, bale furs, prepare reports and write letters. July and August are usually delightful months—cool for the most part and bright—

with only enough rainy days and mosquitoes to vary the monotony. Greenhouses, made with double windows from the residences, are very popular. Excellent radish, lettuce and spinach are grown north of the Arctic Circle in these cold frames. In September the temperatures fall rapidly—October is definitely the beginning of winter. The winds at this season are stronger than any other time and the heaviest snowfalls occur either in October or November. Temperatures continue to fall until late in January and early February. Fifty-five degrees below zero was the lowest reported for January 1942 at Arctic Bay, but White River, Ontario, 1,800 miles due south, was only 4° warmer in the same month.

The Eastern Arctic Eskimo, because of environment, is different in many respects from those in the Western Arctic. National Museum of Canada tells us:

> "The Eskimo live in small communities throughout the Arctic from the Siberian shore of Bering Strait to Greenland—nearly a third of the way around the globe—yet they number only about 35,000. Three or four hundred roam the barren lands in the Northwest Territories west of Hudson Bay—but all the others are shore dwellers who never go inland except to hunt caribou for winter clothing. Because the Eskimos dressed differently from other natives, had different customs, and spoke a language of their own, many writers have regarded them as a distinct race. It is true their noses are exceptionally narrow and their cheek-bones stand out wider than their heads, nevertheless, most authorities now class them as Indians and consider them to be more closely related to the aborigines of America than any people in the Old World."

The Eastern Arctic coast is treeless—different from the Mackenzie River Delta. The sea is covered with ice and the land with snow for more than half the year. So short is the summer that the hardiest wild berries often fail to ripen and in any case these are too scarce to be an important item of Eskimo diet. The Eastern Arctic

Eskimo is a nomad and without a tribal system. The family is the unit. Two or four together follow the game on which they chiefly depend for a living. They carry tents in summer and build snowhouses in winter, sharing everything until by friendly agreement one or more decides to join another camp. The hair seal—hunted summer and winter—supplies their food, clothing, footwear, light and heat. Also the hide is used for covering the kyak or one-man boat, so necessary in hunting the animal during open water.

These Eskimo had nothing of value to barter with the white man until the beginning of the present century. The demand for white fox belts rose to unprecedented heights in the fur markets of Europe, and the Hudson's Bay Company opened the first trading post in Hudson Strait in 1909. Prior to the arrival of the fur traders the Eskimo of the Eastern Arctic were solely dependent on their skill with hunting gear made of caribou antlers, walrus tusks and whale bone. Even to-day the Eskimo still use harpoons tipped with walrus tusks and secured with sinew lines, as well as rifles, to hunt sea mammals from their kyaks.

The discovery of petroleum on the right bank of the Mackenzie River near Fort Norman 23 years ago drew public attention to the possibilities of finding valuable minerals in other parts of the Northwest Territories. In feverish haste furtraders and gold seekers invaded the Eastern Arctic. In 1921 the Dominion Parliament amended the Northwest Territories Act to provide for the reconstitution of the Northwest Territories Council, and the following year the annual Eastern Arctic Expedition was inaugurated. Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachments were established at strategic points to enforce the Northwest Game Act—Migratory Birds Convention Act—open post offices, and generally maintain law and order. The Arctic Islands Preserve was created to protect the game resources for the sole benefit of the Eskimo population. Under the game laws no white man can hunt or trap in the Northwest Territories without a licence nor can anyone, white or native, open a trading post without the permission of the Commissioner in Council. Furthermore, no scientist or explorer can enter the Territories unless the Commissioner in Council is satisfied the expedition is properly qualified, equipped and financed to maintain itself in the field and return home safely. In addition to the group of scientists from national and provincial institutions in Canada, Great Britain and United States were given permission to investigate and explore the Eastern Arctic. Reports of the work of these scientists have been submitted to the National Research Council and other departments of Government and made available to universities and other institutions throughout the world.

Fifteen years ago the missionaries established hospitals at Pangnirtung, on Baffin Island, and at Chesterfield, on the west coast of Hudson Boy. The Northwest Territories Administration provides the doctors and trained nurses and supplies a generous assortment of drugs. The hospitals are up-to-date in every way, with modern heating, electric light, X-ray, operating room, public and private wards. The Government pays $2.50 per day for every Eskimo patient treated. Industrial homes are operated in connection with the hospitals where convalescents are provided with board and lodging, at Government expense, until transportation is available to send them back home. Aged, blind and crippled Eskimo are admitted to these institutions on the certificate of the Government medical officer. Eskimo hunters are no longer compelled to look after their old people or those unable, through physical infirmities, to provide for themselves. These social services have improved the economic status of the Eastern Arctic Eskimo but there is still a scarcity of game in some areas. During the past ten years several families have been moved, at their own request, farther north where the Eskimo population is not so dense and the game resources more abundant. Some families have moved 800 miles from their birth place and are doing well in their new environment. At times, the older members think of returning to the scenes of their childhood, just as some people do who came to Canada from the Old Country—but not the children. One young girl from Cape Dorset in Southern Baffin Island, recently married a young native hunter from near King William Island, thereby effecting a union of Eskimos from east to west for the first time in history.

One of the greatest difficulties of administering the affairs of primitive people is keeping track of individuals through their native and baptismal names. The Eskimo have no written language of their own. About 30 years ago the missionaries taught them the use of a group of characters based on the syllabics invented for the Cree Indians in Northern Ontario. Many Eastern Arctic Eskimos can read the religious books and papers now being printed especially for them. Most of them can sign their own name in syllable characters, but sometimes, and without any apparent reason, they decide to change their native name or drop it entirely for the baptismal name given by the missionary. The confusion is further complicated by the white man's attempt to write an Eskimo name phonetically. There can be as many as ten different spellings for one Eskimo name. In taking the census of 1941, full particulars of each member of a family were recorded, each given a number and presented with an identification disc similar to that worn by the armed forces of Canada. Space is provided on the disc for the name of the individual in syllabic characters.

In the last two decades many Eskimos have been able to purchase sail boats or motor boats, with the proceeds of their white fox catch. Consequently, their hunting range has been extended. Skin tents are gradually giving way to canvas. Steel needles and hand sewing machines are treasured by the women and their clothing is thereby kept in good repair. Every hunter has a rifle. Comparatively small quantities of flour are used but the consumption of canned milk is increasing annually. Pilot biscuits and well sugared tea are relished by Eskimo men, women and children. However, the amount of tea and sugar bought by Eskimos in the Eastern Arctic during the season 1941-2 was below the authorized ration for you and me. Fish and seal meat are still the chief articles of nutrition, and caribou or reindeer skins, and musk-ox hides are still necessary for clothing and bedding.

The Arctic was never tamed. It has known many playmates but no masters. Any man's land, between the timber line and perpetual ice, appears to be a wide and persistent wilderness, but below the surface it may hold great riches for those who have the "open sesame" to hidden wealth. The very rocks, thrusting their sharp jaws through the snow, shelter the Eskimo as they sit in their igloos, wondering what the white man will try next, in his attempt to master the Arctic. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Major McKeand, we are going to ask one of your boyhood friends to voice the thanks and appreciation of the audience—His Lordship, Bishop Renison.

RT. REV. R. J. RENISON, M.A., D.D.: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I confess that nothing would have kept me away from the story to which we have just listened. It is one of those things that make life seem beautiful and desirable to people who are living in a so-called civilized country where there is so much grief, so much regimentation and so much of the drab side of life in days like these.

The very name of the Arctic stirs the blood of every Anglo-Saxon, and the story of the Northwest Passage I believe is one of the great pipe dreams of history. It is one of the crazy ideals which men for centuries followed, and yet I honestly believe that it had a great deal to do with the founding of the British Empire in this part of the world. The men who lived on the little Island which we call our Motherland couldn't bear to think, in the days of Queen Elizabeth and before them, that the Spaniards and the Portuguese had actually been able to find a land of ease and plenty where there was nothing but bananas and flowers and gold and jewels to be had for the asking, while they themselves had nowhere to go, and therefore, they conceived the idea, and from the British point of view it was a perfectly logical one, that there must be some passage ordained for the British people in the northwest that would carry them straight through the unknown continent of America and lead them out into the storied seas of Cathay to find the fabulous wealth that Marco Polo used to talk about.

So they kept it up for three hundred years. They didn't find much. You heard to-day one story of how that little ship came from the west to the east and I happened to be in San Francisco in 1903, when it first came the other way—Amundsen's little Norwegian vessel that picked her way through the ice. The Northwest Passage didn't mean anything, practically, but as an inspiration it is perfectly marvellous. What it has done to our people, the legends it has given, is incarnate in the personality of men like Major McKeand who has thrilled us to-day with his story that is told with such great reticence.

I saw some of those people this summer. I was permitted by the Bishop of the Arctic to go through the western part of his Diocese for a summer journey this year while he went with Major McKeand in the *Nascopie*. The *Nascopie* must be one of the most wonderful boats in existence. I remember when she was built. The original boats that sailed there were only four hundred tons, they were sailing vessels and sometimes they got back the same year from Scotland and sometimes they didn't.

However, we have come here and we have gotten away from the world in which we are living and that northern channel that may have a great deal to do with the future of our race because that is the part of the Continent that is going to touch the hand of Russia. It is the easiest route to the great Asiatic Continent and so to-day it will be a beaten path.

It is a very great pleasure to have the privilege of moving a vote of thanks to Major McKeand for his very wonderful story, and we hope, although somebody said he was growing old in service, we hope, like Cleopatra, he may grow more wonderful as he grows older. "Age cannot wither or custom stale his infinite variety". (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Cleopatra, you have heard the motion of thanks so ably moved by His Lordship, and so responded to by the audience It is my great pleasure to pass that motion on to you. We are very grateful to you for having come to us to-day. Gentlemen, the meeting is adjourned.

"EDUCATING A DEMOCRACY"

An Address By

GEORGE B. LANGFORD, Ph.D., F.R.S.C.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, March 11, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Before a guest-speaker is formally presented at any of our meetings, it is the duty of one of the members of the Executive Committee, delegated for the purpose, to obtain certain information for the use of another member of the Executive Committee in compiling the material which appears on the announcement card. In the case of our guest to-day, application was made personally to him, and, as I have worked with him and feel that his reply is so typical of the man, I am venturing to take the unusual course of reading that reply, by way of introduction.

He says: "According to our telephone conversation of some weeks ago, I was to send you a photo of myself and a biography. I do not know what your requirements are regarding the latter, but I hope that the following will more than suffice:

Born in Toronto (giving the year); early education in Calgary, Alberta; university education at University of Alberta, University of Toronto, Cornell University; degrees, etc., B.A.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S.C.; professional practice as geologist for Ontario Department of Mines; Ventures Limited; McIntyre Porcupine Mines Limited; private practice as consultant. Worked in mining camps throughout Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and South

America; since 1937 Professor of Mining Geology at University of Toronto.

Will you kindly advise me where I am to send my manuscript for the radio people to censor it?"

He hoped that that skeleton would "more than suffice" and asked direction as to where he should send his manuscript "for the radio people to censor it". And more, he made use of all kinds of contractions throughout the brief note. This letter is a gem. It demonstrates the result of training, study and disposition. It shows, for example, that our guest is a student of literature and has learned that one of the qualities for which critics look is "contrast". As even "by taking thought", he cannot, even by a cubit, shorten his six feet six inches of stature, his literary instinct tells him that, for the sake of contrast, he should shorten its record of accomplishment, which he has most certainly done.

There are many items of interest which he omitted from that brief biographical sketch, such as, for example, one that appeared in the last issue of the *University of Toronto Monthly,* just to hand, announcing that he had been elected a Councillor in the Mining Branch of the Ontario Association of Professional Engineers, an honour upon which this Club congratulates him.

Gentlemen: Dr. George S. Langford, Professor of Mining Geology at the University of Toronto, who will address us on the subject, "Educating a Democracy". (Applause.)

DR. GEORGE B. LANGFORD: Mr. Chairman, Guests and Members of The Empire Club: I am certainly very grateful to you for the honour that you have done me in asking me to be here to-day. That is no perfunctory statement. The ideas which I am going to discuss have been convictions of mine for some time and the opportunity to discuss them publicly is decidedly encouraging. Therefore, in thanking you, I do so in all sincerity.

In this day and age there is a great urge for a speaker to be swept away by the importance to him, at any rate, of his topic. He puts it forward as a cure-all for the current ills of the day. I trust that I have not fallen into this trap for my topic is one that concerned us before the war, is of importance at the present moment, and will be increasingly so when the war is over. Its immediate solution will not contribute materially to our war effort, but it will contribute much to the holding together of the country and the Empire in the days that lie ahead.

In recent months we have all seen or heard educational matters referred to with growing emphasis on their importance. Quite often we hear that the cure for such and such an issue is to educate the people. In the United States a recently issued postage stamp has these four words in bold type on it, "Security, Conservation, Health, and Education". Thus the importance of education is officially recognized, and given equal status with these other leading national issues. This is not because of the illiteracy of people to-day, or the need for a better and wider-spread teaching of the three R's. People generally, and our leaders specifically, are at long last realizing what education can accomplish in shaping the destiny of the nation. We have only to look at the important part played by educational methods in welding the Russian nation together, or in making the Axis countries the great powers which they have been. It can be as important a force for revitalizing our democratic form of government as it was in inculcating political doctrines into the minds of the peoples in the Axis countries. That is why the importance of education is being stressed to-day. But it will only become such a force through the will and determination of our people. Let us not be blind to the issue before us. We all realize that there is a tremendous apathy on the part of the public generally towards our political institutions, and because of this lack of interest, political development of the country has lagged far behind the economic and scientific development. This condition must be rectified if we are to have a balanced state and stability within our borders. Because education can do much to bring this about, it is one of the most important tools we possess to-day.

Teaching the principles of democracy is one of our most important problems and at the same time it is one of the most difficult ones. It is not merely a matter of putting another course in the curriculum, and leaving the burden of instruction to the school teacher. We cannot discharge our duty as easily as that. The problem of making democratic citizens has its beginnings in the home and the primary schools, where the children are given the moral and ethical background necessary for the maintenance of self government, and then the political practices of our country can be successfully added. This was the practice followed in Germany. The Nazis taught the children a belief that the Germans were a master race—a belief that they were hedged in and denied living room and access to the raw materials of the world—and a hatred of Jews. When these beliefs were firmly driven home, it was comparatively easy to teach the young and receptive minds the principles of a system which would rectify all these ills. The teaching of democracy involves two similar steps, even though what we teach is diametrically opposed to the Nazi doctrines. In the parlance of the gardener, we must carefully prepare a seed bed before we can plant the seed. This simile can be carried further by saying that the success of our planting depends directly on the care and thoroughness with which the seed bed was prepared. In the Axis countries the seed bed was hatred and fear. In the democracies it is the principles and practices of correct conduct, which embraces such concepts as morality, ethics, self-discipline and a sense of duty—commonly referred to as traits of character. You may wonder just how these traits of character are related to our form of government. The relationship was made startlingly clear by Lord Moulton, an eminent British jurist and parliamentarian. He did it by a careful analysis of human activities, which he divided into three categories or domains.

The first is the domain of enforcement, wherein our activities are controlled by positive law. At the other extreme is the domain of absolute choice, wherein we are free will agents to do what we wish. Between these two, lies a great and important domain or land which he called the land of "obedience to the unenforceable". Here belong all those actions which we do because of a sense of duty, fairness, taste, custom, manners or convention. Because of one or the other of these reasons, society differentiates between what is right and what is wrong, and it has, or should have, the self discipline to force itself to take the proper course. The actions which belong to this domain must not be confused with free will actions which we can do or not as we see fit. Actions in this domain are obligatory, and our principles are our guide in dictating what action we, as individuals, will take. Lord Moulton also called it the "domain of manners" and stressed its importance as follows: "The dangers that threaten the maintenance of this domain of manners arise from its situation between the region of absolute choice and the region of positive law. There are countless supporters of the movement to enlarge the sphere of positive law. In many countries—especially in the younger nations—there is a tendency to make laws to regulate everything. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency to treat matters that are not regulated by positive law as being matters of absolute choice. Both these movements are encroachments on the middle land, and to my mind the real greatness of a nation, its true civilization is measured by the extent of this land of obedience to the unenforceable. It measures the extent to which the nation trusts its citizens, and its existence and area testify to the way they behave in response to that trust. Mere obedience to law does not measure the greatness of a nation. It can easily be obtained by a strong executive, and most easily from a timorous people. Nor is the license of behaviour, which so often accompanies the absence of law, and which is miscalled liberty, a proof of greatness. The true test is the extent to which individuals can be trusted to obey self-imposed law."

Many of the things concerning which we usually consider ourselves as free will agents, must be thought of as moral duties, i.e., in the domain of manners, and we must possess sufficient moral rectitude to recognize them as such, and exercise self-discipline to ensure that we do our duty. Otherwise, the governments have no choice but to take over such functions, or to pass laws compelling us to do them. Such encroachments on the domain of manners are common to-day because of the necessities of war, as in the compulsory saving feature of The Income Tax Act, but they have been going on for years, as is evidenced in such laws as those which prevent people from spitting on the sidewalks.

These and other encroachments should not be looked upon as the administration's desire to assume dictatorial powers; they are a measure of the degree of society's failure to carry out its duty as citizens. Furthermore, a proper sense of ethics and duty, and an ability for self-discipline inspire a respect for positive laws, and conversely, when these personal qualities are lacking a disregard for laws is engendered. Unless a populace can discipline itself in the matter of manners, duty, convention, etc., it will be impossible for the same populace to operate a system of self-government by positive laws, which is the essence of democracy. The close association between these traits of character and the successful maintenance of a democratic state is thus emphasized. The mainspring of our form of government is the personal ethics of our people. We consider democracy as the highest development in the line of self-government, because it is government by a people with a high sense of ethics.

Character is the seed bed of democracy, and character building is the essential preparation which must precede the training of the principles and practices of democracy. Character building is a matter of training and teaching, and is usually done in the homes, the churches and the schools. The home influence, generally speaking, has been deteriorating as an active force, for years. It is now deteriorating at an accelerated rate because of war conditions. This is borne out by the facts that the parents of 7,000 of Toronto's school children are now working away from their homes, and, a recent statement by the Mayor of this city to the effect that juvenile delinquency has now reached such proportions that it is one of the major worries of the administration. We cannot look to the homes of the country to supply the impetus necessary for a revitalization of the nation's character. It is not my intention to comment on the influence of the church, other than to say that it is the only organization in our midst devoted primarily to this most important task, and as such merits a much greater measure of support than it receives. The other element, the public schools of the country, must take on an ever increasing share of this task of character building, but before this can be done, they must have a staff capable of doing it. The teaching of morals and ethics can be done only by a combination of precept and example, and it requires a superior type of person to accomplish this.

I venture to say that each one of you can remember some teacher who exercised a profound influence for good in your life. We must attract more of just that type into the public school staffs. This is not a criticism of public school teachers. By and large throughout this country the taxpayer is getting good value for his school taxes, but the wages paid to school teachers are not high enough to attract many of the best of our young people into the teaching profession. This has resulted in a general lowering of the standard of the profession with a consequent loss of public esteem. If you have any reason to doubt this, ask yourself the following questions: "Did you ever suggest to your children that they follow the teaching profession?" "If not, why?" When you have honestly answered these questions you have the verification of my statements and also you have automatically found the answer as to why the teaching profession does not appeal to more of our intelligent youth.

To-day, when we realize the importance of the public school teacher as a national asset, are we going to allow this great profession to languish for the want of money? Some people suggest that teachers are adequately paid, but look at the figures. The average salaries of public school teachers in Canada in 1941, according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, varied from less than $500 per year in the Maritimes to a maximum of $1,300 per year in British Columbia. It is of interest to note in this regard that unofficial army figures show that the percentages of men who failed to pass high school entrance varies inversely with these salary figures, that is, where average salaries are highest, there are the lowest number of failures, and where salaries are lowest, there are the greatest number of failures. Because we use the dollar mark as the measuring stick for achievement, we must be prepared to pay higher salaries to our teachers. Here in Ontario, we ask young men to train for a profession in which the average salary that they can hope for, on which to establish homes, is less than $150 per month. You can easily imagine what to expect in the way of applicants.

One often hears it said that one of our great post-war tasks is to re-educate a generation of youths in the Axis countries. They must be disillusioned regarding their form of government and taught the virtues of ours. While this may be so, we overlook the fact that there is in Canada a generation without any well defined political convictions. These young people will turn with enthusiasm to any form of government which offers them the right to a decent living, and if we do not get there first with the principles of democracy, we can rest assured that someone else will teach them some other doctrine.

Before we criticize these young people for their disbelief, let us try to understand how they came to have their present attitude. In the course of my work I frequently have an opportunity to exchange ideas with the students of such topics. It has been my experience that these young men often have in their minds an indelible picture of the financial difficulties which they and their parents experienced five to ten years ago. This has led to grave doubts concerning a political, economic and social system which allowed such conditions to arise, to persist, and largely to adjust themselves. Added to this, they have scarcely ever heard politics and politicians discussed by their parents or older people, in anything but the most disparaging terms. Under these conditions, how can we expect our young people to have anything but contempt for our political institutions, and incidentally for us for maintaining them. We of the older generation have a fundamental belief in these institutions. We recognize their faults, but we feel that underlying it all, there are good qualities which will eventually come to the surface. The young people do not share this fundamental belief, largely because we have not taught it to them. All they know is from their observations, which even the most rabid protagonist of democracy will admit, leaves much to be desired.

Too often we fail to realize to what an extent our children look to us for guidance. We all have moments when we highly-minded tell them about the virtues which we hope they will acquire, but we overlook the fact that we are continually setting an example in those vital matters which belong to the realm of obedience to the unenforceable. So faithfully have these youngsters aped us, that at the annual campus elections this year, for the various committees which are responsible for the general management of Hart House—a job which in the students' lives is comparable to civic matters in yours—only 21 per cent of the electorate voted. This figure compares only too unfavourably with the last civic election in Toronto.

When we as mature citizens fail to play the game to the limit in the realm of obedience to the unenforceable, our example becomes a flagrant excuse for the next generation to follow suit. Thus a deterioration sets in. In the teaching of the principles and practices of democracy, I am afraid that the home influence has been an important factor in undoing the good that formal education might have done.

Let us look at the role of the university in maintaining democratic principles and practices. One occasionally hears it said that the university is a hot bed of radicalism. This I flatly deny. I have heard radicalism discussed more often and with more enthusiasm outside the university halls than within. Furthermore, I have pointed out how complicated a process the maintaining of democracy is, and how the different elements in our society must all play their part. Therefore, before any one party casts any aspersions on anyone else, he should examine his own armour very carefully.

I wish to touch upon the obligation of the university graduate to the state. This is something which many graduates never recognize. This failure is, perhaps, chargeable to the failure of the professors to bring this matter to the attention of the students. If we were running a night club, we would have a better developed technique for presenting our patrons with their checks, but between gentlemen one hesitates to tell another that he is under an obligation. We shall have to rectify this. In the educational side of our universities we have a twofold purpose. By means of general purpose courses we stimulate intellectual development, and by means of specialized courses we prepare men and women for professional careers. In either case the individual benefits either from an elevated place in society, or economically, or both. Since most universities in Canada are supported by public funds, this means that the average taxpayer, whose children do not attend university, is maintaining such institutions for the benefit of others. Is he merely doing this so that our children can achieve a favoured place in society that is denied to his? Obviously, there is another reason. Colleges and universities were first started in this country in order to develop an educated class, whose members would show an active and intelligent interest in national affairs, thus setting an example to the remainder of the populace, and from which leaders in public life would arise. That fundamental reason is still behind the principle of state supported universities, although it is nearly lost sight of to-day. As long as we have state supported universities, the graduates of such institutions are under a great obligation to the public. That obligation can only be discharged by the graduates devoting a part of their talents to the service of the state. We cannot all enter public life, but, we can all take an intelligent, and when necessary, a vociferous interest in the nation's affairs. University graduates should move in a sphere in which their opinions on national matters are sought and respected, be that sphere large or small. If they will not accept this responsibility, they are traitors to our system, and they should never have received the benefits of a higher education.

There is another aspect, and this is the final one, of our educational system which I would like to mention. To-day we need leaders in all walks of life, as we never did before. During the last war, and for a few years after, one used to hear it said frequently that many of our potential leaders were left behind under the white crosses of France's battlefields. That is undoubtedly so, and to-day we are burying the potential leaders of another generation. This is the inevitable price of war, and we must be prepared to pay it. This tragic loss makes it imperative that we should develop every potential leader in our coming generations. We must insure that every young man and woman of intelligence and promise, in Canada, is educated to the limit of his and her capability. I am not advocating university education for everyone, for I do not believe that such is necessary or desirable. What I do advocate is the removal of the present financial obstacle that is preventing many of these potential leaders from attending university, and in the rural districts often preventing them from attending high schools.

Many of you who have left your university days far behind, and have not financed children through a college education in recent years, do not appreciate the true situation to-day. In recent years there has been a gradual increase in fees until to-day, financial means is almost as important as intellectual ability if one is to go to university. This condition has been forced on the universities because costs have increased faster than the increases in Government grants and endowments. Twenty years ago the cost of operating our universities and colleges in Canada was borne as follows: 50% by the governments, 20% by the students, 30% by endowments, etc. To-day these figures have changed so that now the governments contribute 42% instead of 50%; the students now pay 33%, instead of 20%, and the endowments are now 25% against 30%.

Generally speaking, it is not possible for students today to earn sufficient money in summer work to put them through a year's studies. I know of mining students who have gone on contract work in the mines, and by a stroke of good luck made quite a stake—but such cases are very rare. In spite of loan funds, bursaries and scholarships, which in Canada have never been on a particularly generous scale, many bright young people are kept out of our universities because they cannot afford to go. What we need are state bursaries so administered that a definite percentage of the leading students in every high school and collegiate in the land will be able to go to university. I do not think that such students should be picked on scholarship alone—they must be chosen for all-round proficiency. However, it should be known to every student in our schools that if he can measure up and be in the top 5 or 10% of his class, a university training is his birthright.

The ideas I have brought forward are current among members of the teaching profession. I have not overemphasized the importance of the part that education can play if given the opportunity, but it is not possible to make any progress along the road without a large measure of public support. We can teach democracy successfully. We must teach democracy successfully. Democracy cannot survive unless our educational systems are definitely attuned to their job, but they must have the public behind them. We have the machinery but it must be overhauled if we are to do the job, and we cannot waste any time in getting started on that overhaul job. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen, the Bryces are in the ascendant to-day. We have the Very Reverend Peter Bryce ask the blessing. We are going to ask Mr. R. A. Bryce, better known as "Bob" Bryce, to thank the speaker. Mr. R. A. Bryce is the President of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy and is a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto. Mr. Bryce, will you please thank Professor Langford for his thought-provoking address.

MR. ROBERT A. BRYCE: Mr. Chairman, Guests of Honour, Dr. Langford: To choose me to reply to such a learned address as we have had on education, I think is not a good selection. I am more of a rough miner than I am an educationist. However, I think Dr. Langford has tackled this problem like he tackles a geological problem. He has given you certain limits to work between and then you will find the ore and if you are successful, you will find the good ore.

I would like to say this, in verification of what Dr. Langford has said relative to students and their being able to borrow money from certain funds of the University. I think I am correct in stating that less than one per cent of that has been unreturned. They have all paid it back, with less than one per cent bad debt. I think that is quite a remarkable thing that when a boy borrows money for his education he pays it back. I think that stands pretty well for the university graduates. But if we had more funds I think it would be better. How we are going to get them, I don't know. In these days of taxes people probably have enough to provide for themselves and their immediate families when they die, rather than having it to give to institutions for education and otherwise, but the running of a university is an expensive problem, as we have found out. The Government figures they have to spend money on other things and when they don't get a few of the things they expect to make money out of, they shorten up on education. They think that is one of the things they can cut down.

However, I think Dr. Langford has given us a wonderful address. There is a tremendous amount of meat in it if we study it more carefully afterward and think about it, and I am sure that everybody here, Dr. Langford, is going away with a much better idea of education than when they came, and on their behalf I wish to thank you. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Thank you, Mr. Bryce. You are quite right about the returns in connection with scholarships. I happen to be Chairman of the Scholarship Committee of the Alumni Federation of the University of Toronto, and I know your figures are approximately correct. We have very few losses in connection with loans made to students.

One of our difficulties at the present time has been to get enough money to finance, particularly the medical students, because, as you know, the term has been shortened on account of war requirements and in that connection the medical student has not time to go out through the summer as he used to do to earn a little money to enable him to finance the following year. The Government has very kindly stepped in but there are other sources of supply. It is a difficult problem to finance a great many of these young students, particularly in dentistry, medicine and engineering. The Arts students still have a little edge, as it were, in that particular connection.

Professor Langford, you have heard the vote of thanks, so ably voiced by Mr. Bryce, and you have heard how it was received by your audience. Again we thank you for taking the trouble to prepare this paper and to come and deliver it to us to-day. Thank you, Sir.

"CANADA'S RESERVE ARMY"

AN ADDRESS BY

MAJOR-GENERAL B. W. BROWNE, D.S.O., M.C.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, March 18, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Your Honour, Guests, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: The Canadian Militia has always been the keystone of Canadian military organization. It is a well-equipped and well-trained body of men and was the nucleus of the Canadian Expeditionary Force in the last war and of the Active Army in this.

The Toronto area is proud of its military tradition. In the time of many of us the sham battle that was fought annually on Thanksgiving Day out in the High Park area was an outstanding event of the year. The expressions, "The Second", "The Tenth", "The Forty-Eighth", were synonymous in every schoolboy's parlance with "The Queen's Own Rifles", "The Royal Grenadiers", "The Highlanders".

"Old times have changed, old manners gone". While the Militia exists the terms most commonly heard now are "The Active Army", "The Reserve Army". Our guest to-day is chief of the Reserve Army and when one says that Major-General Browne began his military career in 1901, one is not strictly correct. It was in January of that year that he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 29th Regiment, and one does not usually begin his military career as an officer. He went overseas in the last war with the rank of Captain, in 1914, and returned in 1918 with the rank of Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General of the First Canadian Division. In 1919 he was appointed to the Permanent Staff, and, from that time forward his career has been one of uninterrupted progress, and his wisdom and his popularity have grown from more to more.

He has served in Military Districts 2, 3, 4 and 10. He became Adjutant General in 1940 and an appointment for overseas service in 1942 was cancelled upon his being made Director General of the Reserve Army of Canada.

Besides the Distinguished Service Order and the Military Cross, he carries the Colonial Auxiliary Forces' Officers Decoration, and the Belgian Military Cross.

It is a great pleasure to present to so many of his friends, Major General B. W. Browne, D.S.O., M.C. (Applause.)

MAJOR GENERAL B. W. BROWNE: Your Honour, Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Brother Officers and Gentlemen: I thank you, Sir, most sincerely for the very great honour you do the Reserve Army and me in allowing me to speak to this representative gathering to-day.

The Reserve Army is older than the Dominion it serves in the greatness of its traditions Yet to-day it is "new" in its tasks and its opportunities. The Reserve Army is what was formerly known as "the militia", that keen body of citizen soldiers which has been Canada's first line of defence since our country began to emerge as a national entity, at the beginning of the last century. Then, as now, the days were dark. The Hitler of his day (with apologies to the Corsican for such a comparison), Napoleon Bonaparte, was engulfing Europe in the tide of war. Britain was threatened, and troops were not to be spared. The British North American Colonies had to look to their own defence.

In those days the Militia was based on universal military service—a system inherited both from English Common Law and from the *ancien regime*. In fact, this principle of the "nations in arms" was at least theoretically in force until as late as 1904, after which the existing Military Act, as amended in 1927, came into effect. However, in the absence of rigid enforcement of compulsory service, the military and loyalist spirit of the nation found its expression chiefly in the organization, under authority and command of the Governor-General, of local volunteer troops and companies

It was men of this spirit, in all walks of life, who rallied to the call to defend their way of life, when it was threatened in 1812. Their gallant and successful acquittance of their task under Brock at Queenston Heights, and de Salaberry at Chateauguay, at Lundy's Lane and Crysler's Farm, are proud pages of Canadian history. Theirs was the strong foundation of the mutual respect, goodwill and confidence which have characterized our happy relations with the United States for over a century.

In later years, as we experienced the growing pains of nationhood, they were ready to meet and defeat rebellion in the Northwest and to support law and order on other occasions. Major-General C. B. Price, an authority on the Canadian Militia, of which he is himself a distinguished product, has frequently reminded us that the Militia has been called upon on an average of once every fifteen years to fight, either at home or abroad, in defence of freedom. When a new threat arose in Europe in 1914, the Militia was able to aid the Mother Country by providing the backbone of the formidable Army Corps which, under Sir Arthur Currie's inspired leadership, was to earn for Canada an enviable military reputation among the nations.

The end of the first World War brought a revulsion against military service—a revulsion which contributed largely to the present crisis; brought us close to our knees and has us still reeling from the blows. We forgot that the price of peace has always been, and will always be, eternal vigilance and practical preparedness. With the Great War won, with wide oceans on either side, and with the best of relations with our immediate neighbours, soldiering and military vigilance and practical preparedness, with the necessary expenditures, were far from popular. Yet, in the face of every obstacle, including public apathy, the Non-Permanent Active Militia, as it was then known, carried on with unflagging zeal. When the storm broke it was more ready for the deluge than most people realized, except in modern armament.

From that inspired nucleus of 40,000 officers and men, who worked faithfully with so little encouragement in the twenty years of peace, has been built the Active Army of Canada of to-day. There is hardly a unit of the old militia which does not to-day possess an active component in the field army which we have created, and which is being concentrated for the formidable task of striking the arch enemy wherever and whenever the right time and place is decided.

This task of seeking to defeat the enemy abroad and keep the ravages of war away from our own soil demanded and still demands every able bodied man who can be spared. What, then, was to become of the militia? Should it carry on, or was it to be left dormant until the war had been fought?

In the past, a primary role of the Non Permanent Active Militia was a potential aid to the civil power in the event of internal disturbance. Threats from abroad seemed remote even a few short years ago. Now, it has become painfully apparent that, under modern conditions, the possibility of invasion of our soil is no anxious dream. Obviously if the field army was to carry the war to the enemy, Canada had still to guard against any component of the enemy using the same strategy. Moreover, the development of Canada as the great arsenal of the Empire, and its most secure base made it an even more important strategical objective. In short, the N.P.A.M. had not merely to carry on on the old basis. It had to be made stronger, larger, better trained and better equipped, and, to assume greater responsibilities than ever before.

Units were successively mobilized for Active Service from the Non Permanent Active Militia and the continuing element at home was reorganized as a reserve unit to carry on their work and traditions and to assist in recruiting the necessary scale of reinforcements for the active unit. In November, 1940, steps were taken to provide the necessary expansion in numbers, equipment and training to enable the N.P.A.M. to assume new responsibilities and a clearly defined operational role in the defence plans of the Dominion. Concurrently, the Non-Permanent Active Militia was re-designated as the Reserve Army. This re-designation had two purposes; first, to emphasize the operational role of the force as distinct from the major "aid to the civil power role" associated with the pre-war N.P.A.M.; and secondly, since the word "militia" had been commonly applied to irregular military forces, to omit it and emphasize that this force of citizen soldiers is part of the "regular" army and not merely a side issue to it.

So the new Reserve Army is the direct heir to the traditions of the old militia. Its regiments and battalions carry the same names and the same honours. It has not only continued to exist as a military force but has more than doubled its size since 1939. It is new in the sense that it has been reorganized and rebuilt on old foundations. It is new in the vital importance of its operational role for the defence of Canada. It is new in that it now possesses full-time commands and staffs whose sole duty is to revitalize and modernize Reserve Army training and to provide a steadily increasing supply of modern equipment.

What are the duties of the Reserve Army, and what is it training for? I have already indicated that, while every available man in the Active Army must be sent to carry the war to the enemy, Canada must still be secured.

The military principles of Concentration and Offensive Action are only possible when those of Security and Economy of Force are applied to its base of operations. One of the world's greatest arsenals of supplies and munitions, Canada is a vital base of operations that must be held at all costs, or our cause is irretrievably lost. Yet it is an area greater to defend than all Nazi Europe and the bloated Japanese Empire combined. As our active divisions are concentrated, one by one, in the main battle zone, this task falls with increasing weight on the Reserve Army. It is therefore faced with a most important task, namely, to keep Canada as the Empire's most secure base, to confront and destroy any forces of the enemy who may endeavour to attack or invade this continent, to give to Canada's Active Forces the assurance that their rear is strongly held when they concentrate for the final assault.

In fulfilling this role the keynote is thorough training and organization for local defence. Each unit must be master of its own locality; know every inch of the terrain and how to take advantage of it. As a corollary, every man must be master of his unit's weapons and equipment, and of modern field-craft. Units must be capable of organizing and defending local strong points, in and behind the screen of coastal defence, which will cost an infiltrating enemy dearly, to locate and engage.

A secondary task is to train for possible subsequent service with the active force, officers and men who are under age or are in a business category or group not required at the time for the Active Army. Thirdly, it still retains the old militia's task of providing aid to the civil power in the event of an emergency.

Much progress has already been made in aiding the release for overseas service of more men for the Active Army. In addition the Reserve Army has done commendable work in providing new recruits for the Active Army. In the period April 1 to December 31, 1942, 8,712 men are known officially to have entered the Active Force from Reserve units. We like to think of the Reserve Army to-day as "the cruise of oil that faileth not", no matter how great the demands which are made upon it.

The new Reserve Army consists of twelve Brigade Groups—one in each Military District, with the exception of M.D. No. 6, which has two—and all other units not included in these groups. The Brigade Group is a hard-hitting, compact force of all arms comprising brigade group headquarters, a reconnaissance squadron, a field regiment of artillery, a field company of engineers, three infantry battalions and one machine gun battalion together with the necessary ancilliary complements of signals, and supply, medical and ordnance services. Each Brigade Group has a full-time commander and small staff to supervise operational planning, training and administration.

As to those who may join the Reserve Army, the following classes are eligible:

First, men between the ages of 17 and 19. Those under 18 to be enlisted as boys.

Second, men between the ages of 19 and 50 who (1) Have been granted postponement of Military Training; or (2) Are not designated for Military Training under the National Selective Service Mobilization Regulations; or (3) Have been called up but who belong to a medical category below that required for Military Training under the N.R.M. Act.

Third, men to whom the National Selective Service Mobilization Regulations do not apply.

Fourth, students, undergoing approved military training under National Selective Service Mobilization Regulations.

This is a large field, but what I want to emphasize is something which is already known to most clear-thinking patriots in Canada, namely, that every man who is eligible should be in either the Active or the Reserve Army; regardless of his civil preoccupations; regardless of his other war efforts; regardless of the war bonds he may buy; regardless of his blood donations. Regardless of all these factors he must be ready and capable, should the need arise, to take up arms and fight for his hearth and home and country. To fight effectively you need to know how, and knowing how, takes time, hard work and personal devotion.

This brings us to consideration of the type of men we have and want in the Reserve Army or—perhaps, I might say, the spirit of the man. The first requirement is a high sense of duty—of double duty—to his job as well as to the Reserve Army. He must be determined to absorb the basic elements of the military art as quickly as possible. He must be serious minded, appreciating fully the situations he may have to meet to-morrow and in the days after to-morrow. As a member of his unit team he must take a personal satisfaction in a job well done—and not be easily satisfied. He should not consider himself a Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday night soldier but a soldier all day and every day; a soldier who, but for his technical disqualification, and essential war work, would like to be in the Active Force; compelled, perhaps, to serve on the home front but, nevertheless, a soldier and quite ready and confident of proving it to anyone having the temerity to "take him on".

You are no doubt interested in how much time is required for training. The period laid down is a total of 40 days annually, comprising:

(a) 15 days in camp;
(b) 10 days on outdoor training in the form of one or two days or weekend exercises;
(c) 45 evenings—equivalent to 15 days—at local headquarters.

Some of you may say that this programme will take up most of a man's leisure hours. Of course it will; and it must be done if we are to make an effective fighting force of our Reserve Army. How many leisure hours would any of us have if we lost the war?

In the years before this war, the Canadian Militia was ranked very high among the informed few in other countries who were able to judge the relative merits of fighting forces. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the men in it made it an absorbing leisure occupation. The Swiss Army, rated as one of the best in Europe for its numbers, was, like ours, a Militia with only a very small nucleus of professional soldiers. Their leisure hours were few but they made the best possible use of them. This is our duty to-day.

The 40 day training period is little enough for acquiring a reasonable measure of knowledge and skill, so the maximum use must be made of the time. No man can afford to miss a parade. Officers and instructors have to be qualified. In fact all should aim at high qualification, since in a supreme emergency demanding the mobilization of the whole nation in arms—a "levee en masse"—we would have to depend on every Reserve Army man to be a leader and instructor. Excellent progress is being made in this respect. Some units have attained as high as 100 per cent of officer and N.C.O. establishment qualified and a number of others have over 80 per cent. Under their guidance we have businessmen learning how to handle modern arms, to read and use maps and adapt the woodcraft of outdoor recreation to the grimmer field-craft of war.

In addition there is practical training in tactics on the ground. I wish I could take you with me to see some of the work that is being accomplished in these outdoor tactical exercises and schemes and note the enthusiasm and realism that is being put into them. They are all designed as practical problems of local defence which, as I have remarked. is the keynote of the operational role of the reserve units.

As a typical recent example, I would like to mention a scheme held by Reserve units in London, Ontario, during January. The objects of the exercise were to train troops under winter conditions and to study the defence of the London airport, located a few miles from the city, against attack from air and ground. In spite of heavily drifted roads and a raw east wind, the "battle" was fought for more than six hours by more than 1,000 Reserve Army personnel, with the greatest of enthusiasm. By pooling resources all had ample opportunity to practice the employment of new weapons, artillery, transport and carriers. It was an admirable piece of work and valuable lessons were learned.

This example is typical of many similar practical schemes which the Reserve Army is conducting throughout the year and throughout the country.

In the past the old N.P.A.M. always suffered from scarcity of modern weapons and training equipment. Lack of equipment is always a challenge to ingenuity and miracles of improvisation were performed. The first mechanized training on a large scale, with "jallopies" as tanks and home-made signal equipment, was carried out by militia cavalry units at their own expense. This is only one example. What the N.P.A.M. did, the Reserve Army can and will do, but they now have very much more to work with. The first question asked when the Reserve Army was formed was "Will the Reserve be issued with modern equipment?" The answer was "Yes, it will receive more than it has ever received before, but it is obvious to everyone that the needs of the Active Army, and of our fighting Allies, must come first." That promise has been and is being fulfilled. The Active Army *has* come first but the equipment situation of the Reserve has steadily improved. Less than a year ago the number of types of weapons, signal equipment and armament available to the Reserve Army was limited to seven classes. To-day the Reserve Army has seventeen main classes of fighting equipment available to it in increasing quantities, and much more of it is modern. Units are now in possession of practically all items of modern equipment in use by the Active Army. These include rifles, revolvers, anti-tank rifles, Bren guns, Lewis guns, Reising and Sten sub-machine guns, 3 and 2 inch mortars and grenades. Machine gun units have, in addition to the well-known Vickers, the new Browning medium machine gun. The artillery have an increased number of 75 mm. guns, 18 pounders and 4.5 inch howitzers and the present limited issue of 25 pounders is about to be materially increased. All units are supplied with anti-gas equipment, respirators and gas capes.

These items enable the Reserve units adequately to train their men in the use of weapons but outdoor tactical exercises in the country are also necessary and for this purpose a large number of motor vehicles have been issued. These include motorcycle combinations, jeeps, 8-cwt. and 15-cwt. trucks and universal carriers. In addition, wireless equipment has also been increased. Never in its history has our militia, or Reserve Army, as it is now called, been so well equipped. The promises made have been fulfilled. Though quantity is still lacking, the supply is getting better every month.

I have been deeply gratified by the work of the Toronto garrison. Comparisons are always odious to other communities and I will make none, but I will say that the record of 8,000 enlistments obtained in only two weeks in a recruiting campaign last year is one to be proud of. In this connection I would like to pay special tribute to the untiring and effective work of the Civilian Committee of this city, under the able leadership of Mr. E. Macauley Dillon, K.C. Further, I can hardly say too much in appreciation of the splendid patriotic support accorded the Reserve Army by leading employers in Toronto and Military District No. 2 generally. By facilitating and encouraging the participation of both employees and management, irrespective of rank or station, they have aided immeasurably the task of the Reserve units in their District.

Despite the substantial and continuing contributions to the Reserve Army, the strength of the Reserve is now about 100,000. *Still more men are needed.* We must beware of false optimism and wishful thinking. This war has seen far too much of that sort of thing. This war is far from being won. It is still only "the end of the beginning". We cannot relax. There is a place for all in the Reserve Army, including those who are working in key war industries. Many who are producing the weapons and materials of war are wondering if they might not be of greater value to the country in wielding rather than by forging those weapons. To such men I say that the Reserve Army offers a splendid opportunity to continue doing both tasks—to serve doubly in this cause of freedom. I would also emphasize that no one should be reluctant to join in the ranks. It is the accepted military principle to-day, both in Britain and elsewhere, to start from the bottom. There is plenty of room at the top and ample opportunity for the good man to earn promotion. It is a cause for pride to wear the uniform of a private soldier of the Reserve Army. In the Home Guard of England, with which our Reserve Force has so much in common, it is not an infrequent thing to find business leaders serving in the ranks and officered by their own employees. It is also not uncommon to find distinguished retired regular army officers, up to and including general rank, serving in the ranks of the Home Guard—and proud of it. Surely we can be no less democratic?

I have already expressed appreciation of the splendid support given by many leading Toronto employers and I wish to bespeak their continued persevering support and urge others to follow their patriotic example. We are not seeking to tire men by absorbing their leisure time. Rather we would present it as a new and useful form of recreation or hobby. That is what it was to most of the officers and men who did such inspired work with the old Militia. So I would urge all employers of labour to recognize the need for a strong Reserve Army and to facilitate and encourage their men to join.

The question might be asked "Why not have compulsory service in the Reserve Army?" Well, I understand there is no political objection to this course if it should be decided as necessary. It would not be a new thing in Canada for, as I pointed out in my brief review of the development of the militia, this force started with the principle of universal service under the French regime and so continued in theory, until 1904. The reason that the recent application has only been theoretical is because better *esprit de corps* and better results were found in the volunteer units which were formed, at first more or less spontaneously, and later under a directed policy. This aspect of voluntary contribution was always part of the traditional strength of the old Militia. Intimately associated with it for so many years, I can never forgot the calibre of the work that those volunteers did, and I am happy to see their successors following in the same tradition. In any event the strength of the Reserve Army is increasing daily, despite the fact that many leave to join the Active Force. This is proof of the success of the voluntary system. Of course, I realize that, under the present system, there are many men, who have not seen the light and are avoiding service; but, as it is, there is an *esprit de corps* in the Reserve Army that I am very proud of. I wonder if we would have this if it were composed of men who were compelled to serve. These are only my personal views.

Women are playing a part in this war that we would scarcely have dreamed of not so long ago, though soldiers' wives have always had a hard sacrifice to make in all wars. Wives, mothers and sisters can do their part by taking pride in seeing their men-folk in uniform and ready to fight for them. They can willingly make the sacrifices of more lonely evenings and days when parades are to be attended and count it small compared with the sacrifice of the wife whose husband is not just coming home after parade. There is also good work for them to do in the women's auxiliary organizations associated with reserve and active units.

The *esprit de corps* of the Reserve Army throughout Canada is very high. We are aiming to maintain it at this level by providing all necessary incentive. Many of you, I am sure, are very much interested in finance. I do not propose to discuss, in detail, the financial implications of the Reserve Army. Of course it costs a good deal more than was spent on the militia in peace time. However, I would point out that in the Reserve Army we have considerably more strength, man for man, than four divisions. The maintenance and training of this force costs less than half the expense of one active division. This, I suggest, is a good business proposition. We are indeed achieving the principle of Economy of Force.

I would like to mention briefly another aspect of the

Reserve Army, namely the Cadet Services, which have now been redesignated as the Royal Canadian Army Cadets, and reorganized to provide a more attractive and better supervised military youth programme.

Under a Directorate at National Defence Headquarters, a small specialist staff is provided in each District to supervise the Cadet units.

The total strength of the Royal Canadian Army Cadets at the end of 1942 was 92,890. A feature of last year's training was the holding of cadet camps throughout the Dominion for the first time in twenty years. A total of 18 camps were held, attended by 9,915 cadets.

In conclusion may I ask you to look back for a moment in order that we may better foresee and predict the course of the future. In 1939 we entered the war with a Permanent Force of 5,000 all ranks and an Active Militia of only 40,000 officers and men. Out of this nucleus we have created a Field Army overseas of two Corps and Ancillary troops—great echelons of reinforcements—three active divisions in Canada, and a vast fabric of Training Centres and Coast Defence installations. This is not all. You will find in the Royal Canadian Navy and in the Royal Canadian Air Force many thousands of seasoned veterans from the old Militia.

Yet to-day, in spite of these achievements, the Reserve Army of Canada has an active training strength of approximately 100,000 officers and men, and behind it a Royal Canadian Army Cadet Corps of nearly 100,000 more.

Just as the Home Guard of Britain has earned and won the affection and respect of the nation, by the defence of her beaches, her hills and her village streets, so I believe those deep roots of our Military Tree, the Reserve Army of Canada, are gaining, and will continue to gain, in this day of our greatest fight for freedom, a place of value and of honour in those bright pages of our history that are yet unwritten. (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Before calling upon Captain Sanderson of the Reserve Army, the immediate Past President of this Club, to convey the Club's thanks to you, Sir, I thought that you might be interested in seeing the strength of the Reserve Army present. Gentlemen of the Reserve Army, Officrs and Men, would you please indicate your presence by standing?

MR. C. R. SANDERSON: Your Honour, Mr. President and Gentlemen: Before I express the thanks of this meeting to Major-General Browne, I trust that I may be allowed to tell those people who are listening to us on the air that when the President asked the members of the Reserve Army to indicate their presence by standing, nine out of ten people present in this large audience arose to their feet, a sight which must have been gatifying to our speaker.

The man who heads the Reserve Army of Canada carries an enormous responsibility. It is well known that the first duty of every commander, whatever his status, is that of security. Without that all else is futile. And it is therefore the presence in Canada of the Reserve Army alone that makes possible that free swing which Canada is able to make abroad at this time.

Then too, he is the individual through whom the past traditions of the Dominion are being transmitted to the future, traditions which reach back to a time when general liability for service was something much more than a mere section in the Militia Act. He forms the bridge which these traditions are crossing as they readjust to a situation never before experienced.

To-day a new page has been written in recorded history. The story of many individual regiments is accessible, but we have been lacking that comprehensive and authoritative survey of the Canadian Militia and the Reserve Army which Major-General Browne has so ably given to us to-day. It seems particularly fitting that it should have been given to the Empire Club of Canada by the man who is making such a contribution, not only to Canada but to the whole Empire, and especially when he possesses so much knowledge, so much experience, so much expertise, and, if he will permit me to say it in public, so much personal charm. We are conscious of how much Canada is to be congratulated, and I am happy to be the voice through which the thanks of this large audience and of the still larger audience on the air are conveyed to him. (Applause.)

"ARE WE USING CANADA'S WEALTH ARIGHT?"

An Address By

ROBERT C. WALLACE, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.C.

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, March 25, 1943.

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Dr. Robert Charles Wallace, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, is our Guest-Speaker to-day.

Robert Charles Wallace was born on the "Mainland" Island of the Orkney group and, after being soundly tutored in the old classical tradition, went on to Edinburgh University, where he specialized in the sciences and graduated with distinction in Geology and Mathematics, collecting on the way out an 1857 Exhibition Scholarship which took him to Gottingen, Germany, where he gathered in the Ph.D. degree.

In 1910 he came to Canada to head up the newly created Department of Geology at the University of Manitoba, where, for the next eighteen years he served well his university and found time, at the request of the Province, to act as Commissioner of Northern Manitoba, in which office he was charged with the especial duty of examining into and reporting upon the economic possibilities of the country. By canoe and afoot, with pack and tump-line, he explored the vast district north of "The 53rd", living on beans and bacon, mingling with the pioneer settlers and the prospectors, and gaining such well-informed knowledge of the land and its wealth of natural resources, that, when he returned to Winnipeg and made his report, imagination was stirred and capital immediately started flowing into the territory.

He became Commissioner of Mines in 1927 but the following year, on a call from the University of Alberta, he returned to more strictly academic work, becoming President of that seat of learning.

The measure of the man was taken in Alberta. During the years of widespread economic disorder that began in the Autumn of 1929, there arose an insistent demand for the curtailment of the work of the Provincial University. Faced with the option of abandoning entire departments of teaching or of consenting to a general reduction of staff salaries, he unhesitatingly chose the latter course, and thus kept together an institution which had been brought to a highly useful stage of development under most adverse circumstances. Reasoned judgment has but acclaim for that sort of long distance vision and posterity will add its blessing.

From 1928 to 1936 he remained at the University of Alberta where his pioneering spirit made him one of the first to realize the value of the great pitchblende deposits in the northern part of the province and one of the first to suggest the development of the now widely known tar deposits about Fort McMurray.

In 1936 he accepted a call to become Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, and it is as academic head of our sister University that he is with us to-day.

Dr. Wallace has been referred to as a university statesman. His attitude in this character may be expressed in his own words: "The duty of a University is to explore and develop the realm of knowledge in order that the mind of the student may be freed to entertain and assimilate new aspects of the truth and embark fearlessly on voyages of discovery in fields not yet fully explored. The mark of a university in student and professor is the forward-looking mind. And again: "The keynote of a liberal education is humanism. Scientific progress has transformed the mechanism of civilization but it has overlooked a humanistic note which the world needs and which only a classical education can adequately provide. It is becoming essential to understand science from the philosophical viewpoint." This, Gentlemen, from a Professor of Geology!

One may venture to suggest that there are three basic elements which are responsible for the personality which is Dr. Robert Charles Wallace: One, the study of geology, where a thousand years, yea even a hundred thousand years, are but as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night, which develops a philosophic mental attitude; two, the study of the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church, which develops a philosophic moral attitude; three, oatmeal porridge, which develops a philosophic physical attitude and a fit and proper housing for any man, and, Gentlemen, for such a man as we have the honour of entertaining to-day.

I have pleasure in presenting to you, Gentlemen, Dr. Robert Charles Wallace, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C., who will address us on the subject, "Are We Using Canada's Wealth Aright?" (Applause.)

Dr. R. C. Wallace: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am indeed humbled by this very kind introduction.

I should like to speak to you to-day about the real wealth of a country, of our country, of any country. It is in two parts: First, the physical wealth of its resources; second, the wealth of its people in their ability and qualities. The integration of the two will not necessarily lead to happiness, but it is necessary to provide the background without which happiness is not possible to obtain, and that integration I should like to discuss with you for a few minutes this afternoon, I would deal, first of all, with the purely material resources of our country.

It has been the practice of speakers for many generations, I should say, in Canada, to descant on our inexhaustible natural resources. We hear nothing of that note to-day. It is gone, because we now fully realize that these resources are not inexhaustible and, moreover, that they are rapidly being exhausted. We realize as well that they are something that Nature has given us, a gift of Providence over which we have responsibility. These responsibilities I should like to discuss with you very briefly this afternoon.

I have been led to think more deeply about this matter, though it has been in my mind for many years, by the necessity of looking into those resources, tabulating them, assessing them, from the standpoint of what they may do in adding to our wealth, or prevent our wealth from being depreciated and so raising the general economic level of our country at a time when there will be many people who look for employment.

It is that survey that has brought out in my mind more clearly than ever before the need for us as Canadians to think seriously about some of these problems which are basic to our whole life, because our purely material wealth comes from our resources and from nowhere else. The problem of our resources has been to some extent accentuated by the needs of the war. We learned very early in the present war that one of the great functions that Canada would fulfill would be as an arsenal to the Allied Nations in supplying the tools of war, the munitions of various kinds for the various countries which are fighting together in this great struggle. We have learned as well that Canada is looked upon as a granary of food for these nations and for, later, the devastated parts of Europe.

These demands have made heavy inroads on some of our resources and have distorted our picture somewhat. It has led, for instance, to the base metals—nickel, copper, zinc, lead—being very heavily drawn on, so heavily that mining has had to be practised in some of them with what would be called by mining men, normally, an uneconomic way, in order to get those materials out. It has meant as well that some strategic minerals, not normally so much in the picture, such as tungsten, molybdenite, chromite, magnesium, are very heavily drawn on and very assiduously sought after to-day in Canada.

It has meant as well that one of the great mineral resources of our country, gold, has gone off the priority list altogether. The gold mining industry has suffered very severely and is suffering still more, because of that fact.

It has meant as well that our forests have been heavily drawn on in some parts for the needs of lumber material for current uses in the war. It has meant that our power, as we know so well in Ontario and Quebec, has been drawn on in a way that no one could have realized four years ago, to such an extent that we have now to limit very carefully the domestic uses of power. All these things have happened in a relatively short time and have to be taken account of in the consideration of the way that will provide the best employment from our natural resources in the days that follow the war.

Now, let me take these resources very briefly, seriatim. First of all, Mining. We all know that throughout Canada it has developed that in some outlying districts where mining resources have been found, towns have had to be set up, utilities provided, capital supplied, community life established, in order to carry forward the development of that mining property. When the mining property had been completely mined out, in most cases the whole territory has later become what we call a "ghost town", and all the expenditures, all the development of community life, have had to be broken up and new life established as well.

These ghost towns which stud Canada from east to west are, after all, no great tribute to our foresight as Canadian people. It is possible, by taking thought ahead of time, to do something in developing a community life through the soil and through agricultural and forestry development in areas where the community life has been established. The type of policy which is being adopted, for instance, down in the Gaspe Peninsula by the Quebec Government, where communal forests are set aside, so that the man on subsistence farming in that area, or the fisherman on the coast, is permitted to cut a certain amount of wood, under the control of a trained forester in those communal forests, and to market co-operatively, adds to his income and the possibility of making a reasonably satisfactory life. At the same time the forest does not in any sense become less valuable, for the cutting is done in such a way that the forest will re-establish itself.

It is our responsibility to develop our mining resources and at the same time maintain the type of structure that leads to a reasonably satisfactory community life when the mining wealth has disappeared, as it usually does in 20 or 25 years after the mining is established in any particular area.

The other problem of mining, and it is a very serious one, is this: because of the intensity of the war and because of the demand for certain types of metals, there is now no capital available for finding new materials across Canada, except perhaps in the strategic minerals which may not be quite so important when the war is over. The result is those properties are being mined out which had reached development before the war broke out and practically no new properties are coming forward. No new prospectors are in the field to find those properties. No incentive is being given to find them. No money is available from financial corporations to do so. The result will be—and it is very serious—that when the war is over there will be a hiatus, there will be a gap of some considerable time, unless we take thought ahead of time, which will add to the difficulty of finding employment. There is no way to meet that, that I can see, except to take this matter in hand now and see to it that through wise government regulations taxation on mining is of a kind that will encourage new money to find new materials of a kind that will be needed after the war.

It is the case, I think, that in some areas, at least, a tax equivalent to a dollar a ton of actual mined rock is imposed on the mining company. Now that is a very heavy tax and it must be realized that with every tax of that kind the amount of material that is ore becomes less because ore is only what can be developed out of the rock and if it cannot be developed probitably it remains in the rock and consequently will not be got out economically later.

It is I think, our responsibility to see to it that this great industry of Canada, this very great industry of the Province of Ontario, carries on continuously, without a break, when the war is over. We can only do that if we take thought and have prospectors trained and out in the field so the new properties can be found It is of great importance to the men coming back that this plan should be ready, because many of them at least will find an opportunity, after having been trained, to search for those minerals. You must keep in mind minerals are more difficult to find because a good deal that has yet to be found is under clay and not on the surface of rock. Material under clay is not so easy to discover as on the bare rock itself. It takes new techniques and different methods.

So much for the mineral wealth. I am speaking very cursorily.

In the industry of our forests we deal with a resource that is not indestructible if it is soundly handled. There is no reason why our forest wealth should not remain as it is to-day and become even greater—as great as it once was—if it is developed in the sound, sportsmanlike way. It is a crop which renews itself. If one takes the 400,000 square miles of what one might call accessible forest territory in Canada, it has been estimated that that renews itself year by year against depredations of the lumber man, the pulp man, the insects which destroy and the fire which kills. But the problem is that it does not renew itself in the places which it is being worked out to-day. If twelve cubic feet per acre were added by growth to each acre of that forest that would be sufficient to renew the forest indefinitely. Our growth is of that kind, it will added that amount per year, but unfortunately we work our forests from the edge inward, as a harvester works his field of wheat. We cut down from the outside and cut down fairly completely.

We cannot blame those in the forest industry. They have not been helped very much as yet by governments to do otherwise. If roads were built right back into the large timber reserves so that the cutting could be done systematically under correct forest management there would be no need at all for any forest to deteriorate. It would grow by nature with the right kind of cutting. We have not helped the forest men to do that kind of thing. We are only beginning now to realize that there is a responsibility, as public citizens, to help to maintain one of our great natural resources.

It is very satisfactory to note that the governments of the country are beginning to realize this and are taking wise measures now with our forests. That applies very definitely, I should say, to the Government in Ontario, but they can only go as far as the public opinion will permit them to go. It is only because we realize it and speak about it that Governments can put the money into what is after all one of the soundest types of investment that a country can offer. We must not forget that the forest industry of Canada exported in the days before the war more than $300,000,000 worth on the right side of the trade account. That is, we exported more than $300,000,000 worth of forest products more than we imported into Canada and the credit on the right side of the trade balance of $300,000,000 is no small thing for a country such as ours. It means a great deal in our national economy. That we must attempt to maintain. What the situation may be after the war, what the conditions of trade may be, whether Britain will still be willing to give preferences to a country like Canada, as against a country like Norway in forest materials, we do not know. We must not forget that the export trade in forestry is what has kept the industry alive and without the export trade it will be difficult to get government to put the money into our forests. There, too, men in large numbers, both from overseas and from war industry, can be employed to very great advantage after they have been trained as foresters or as loggers or in other ways. That training will be available when the war is over.

At the present time in the provinces of Canada—and they have the forests under their responsibility—estimates are being made of the territory immediately available for merchandising, of the needs that that particular territory of forest has in supervision by trained men, the amount of road work that has to be done back into those forest territories. This is being assembled in order that we may know exactly the number of men that may be needed to put our forests into condition and to maintain that wealth, one of the greatest sources of wealth in Canada. Fifty per cent of the land area of our provinces of Canada is under forest. Some little time ago the Province of Ontario, in association with the Dominion Government, made a study of a small area of the Ganaraska River Watershed. The river flows through Port Hope into Lake Ontario, and the area was a white pine area and a very valuable one. Now in its upper reaches, in the sandy morain high up in the headwaters, it has been devastated by spring freshets. The sand is moving and covering over territory which had been transformed into agricultural land after the forests were logged. The whole picture is a very sad one indeed. The loss of agricultural soil through the devastation of a country which should have remained as forest is a picture that can be duplicated in your own experience in very many parts of all the provinces in Canada.

That survey was made in order to find out what the technique would be, what the type of men would be that would be needed, how they should be trained, what construction work should be established in order that territory such as this, taken as a type, might come back again into the best use to which it can be put. Part of it will be in reforestation, part of it will be in stabilizing the land by the right kind of crop, part in contour ploughing. This will give some kind of criterion which can be used for a great number of areas in Canada.

We cannot blame our forefathers. I have read into the history of that area. It was an amazing story of initiative in the building of community life in those early days. They did not see the picture, naturally, as we see it now. They had not the knowledge we have now, and there is no blame attached to them. We are facing now a practical situation where if we do not act, more and more of our valuable land will be useless and less and less of the land that can supply good forest material will not be available for the purpose for which it should be used.

Fortunately, there are farmers who are already busy planting white pine and Scotch fir in those areas. They are being assisted in part by the Government in doing so. The programme is a large one and of great importance and will undoubtedly employ, if correctly and soundly administered a great number of men very profitably.

Now as to water resources and water power. The water resources of a country are among the most valuable assets that the country has. A few years ago there was established what is called the "P.F.R.A."—Prairie Farmers Rehabilitation Act—an administration in the dry areas of the West. What that administration has already done is amazing. They have established small ponds—dugouts—over a great part of the dry area of the southern prairies of our Western Canada. They are bringing back again water into areas where water had disappeared. Now, that is not a temporary expedient for the dry years. It has to be carried through continuously in order that water which is the life-giver, after all, may be conserved the water level raised, and farmers have the water for the purposes for which it is needed. That can be done over other areas in Canada as well as the part which we call the dry belt of our western country.

More than that, our rivers can be used to best advantage only when their flow is regulated. We know something about the river floods of our rivers in Ontario. Sometimes rivers are needed for a variety of purposes. Take the Saskatchewan River, for instance, which rises in the foothills of the Rockies, flows east into Lake Winnipeg across the three provinces of the prairies. At the headwaters, which are now to a considerable extent devastated of the forests which are a holding material for water, power is developed to-day and used throughout a considerable part of Alberta. The water comes from the melting of the snows in the mountains and it comes at one particular time of the year.

Further down, irrigation water of the Saskatchewan river supports agricultural communities. Still further down, near the mouth, in the marshes, muskrat farming is being practised on a large scale by water supplied to the marshes from the Lower Saskatchewan.

There is a variety of interests which may come into conflict. It is necessary to treat any large river, from the standpoint of all it can do for us and through some kind of administrative board which has the whole picture before it instead of simply the individual provinces which have only particular responsibilities and needs. Large construction works, and many dams, must be built in order to maintain the even flow which is needed for fish life and for the development of power.

We have developed in Canada now nearly a half of the easily available water power—at any rate, a third—and about one-sixth of the power that may some day, in the long distant future, be considered accessible in Canada. We are not nearly at the end of our power resources but we can do a great deal more than yet has been done in connection with those streams which are easily accessible. All power companies, including our own Hydro-Electric Power Commission here, are doing much with the rivers in creating the dams and the reservoirs and the necessary obstructions in order to maintain flow. What we need throughout Canada after knowing the rate of flow of our rivers, which has been determined over a number of years by Ottawa, is to determine the kind of works that are needed, so as to conserve our greatest and most valuable resources. Our most valuable resource is power. It will mean more and more for

Canada. It has meant a great deal already. It has developed our mining industry in the north, it has developed the pulp and paper industry, it is rapidly developing our electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries, which will be of much greater importance after the war than they have been. This development has come through cheap power. When the war is over perhaps nearly a third of the total power of Canada to-day—9,200,000 horsepower—will be thrown on the market for other uses because at the present time it is being used for war purposes. That will mean very cheap power. It will mean we can compete in the world markets. It will mean, I trust, that we can establish to a greater extent than before small industry in the small rural towns. This will make life more satisfactory than it can possibly be, looked at in real, ultimate values, (I hesitate to say this in the City of Toronto) in any large city. We will yet have a movement out into good rural towns, well supplied with the amenities of life through power, of some of the industries that can establish themselves more satisfactorily under rural conditions.

It means more than that. It means that some day all our farmers will have power supplied to their farms. There is nothing that can stabilize farm life more than the utility of power led to the farms, and to the kitchen. except only good prices for farm products. It will be considered a public service. We may find, as has been the experience of the Tennessee Valley authority, that new methods of farming, based on the development of power for supplying the needs of the country may raise the whole level in the farming communities.

I look forward, as I am sure you all do, to rural electrification on a large scale, not through public or private power companies alone, but through public funds as a great social service which we must supply to our agricultural communities in order that life among them may be as relatively easy and satisfactory as it is in the cities.

Now, Gentlemen, I have left very little time for our second resource, our human resources. Our material resources can only be used through our human ability and aptitude. We must see to it that our human resources are used to the full and trained to the best use. The war has shown us what we can do. The abilities of men are analyzed by our psychologists and all are put as far as possible to the kind of work that they can do best. That is one cue in dealing with the human problem in general. We do not give the opportunity to-day to those who are financially in the lower level to go forward to the type of training that may suit them best, where they can do their best work. We have not made it possible for the sons and daughters of the farmer to go forward, either in academic or technical life. There is no waste so great as the waste of human ability. High human ability is a rare thing. We must find it wherever it is and use it to the very limit. Not only that, the men and women of average ability keep a country going. Abilities are different for different people. They have to be found out. With the ordinary education which all should have, there should be as well the particular kind of education that a man needs most to develop the ability that he has. This will not be as expensive as might be supposed. The only real resource of a country, after all, is its men and women, not only their actual ability, but their outlook on life, their sense of responsibility to others, to the resources of a country, to the way of looking into the future. There are schools to-day that are finding out, even in the lower grades, just what the abilities of the boys and girls are, and are directing them as far as possible into the right channel after they have attained a reasonably sound education. It may be academic, it may be technical, it may be agricultural, it may be something else. Each ability is valuable in its own sphere and that value should be used.

Now, Gentlemen, I hope I have not seemed to be pessimistic in what I have said to-day. I have a great faith in the resources of this great country of ours, an unbounded faith. But we must become aware of the mistakes that have been made and are being made, and as quickly as possible see to it that they are being remedied. Support the governments that are trying to do so. No one can say to me that young people, the resource of our country, are not as able as they ever were. I think they are abler than we were. I have unbounded confidence in our young men and women. It is our business to see that they obtain, without hindrance financially, the kind of education that will suit them to the great jobs in life we have to do in this country, in Canada.

More than that, it is the business of all of us to see to it that our country, when the men come back who are risking their lives for us, is ready for them, in order that they may step into the niche which is theirs. What we have to do in the meantime, it is about that that I have spoken to you. (Applause—prolonged.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: On our behalf we have asked Principal Wallace to thank Principal Wallace. In other words, we have asked Principal Wallace of the University of Toronto to thank Principal Wallace of Queen's University—Principal Wallace.

PRINCIPAL WALLACE: Mr. Chairman, you have paid me a very great compliment indeed in asking me to offer the thanks of this audience to Principal Wallace for the extraordinary stimulating address to which we have just listened. I am afraid that you have been misled by a similarity of names to overlooking the question of capacity. I am afraid, as far as my scientifice knowledge is concerned, I could make out a very poor case for myself, but I comfort myself by remembering that Principal Wallace is not merely scientist but he is a very special type of scientist. He is a Scot and a Scot not only has a capacity which is supposed to be unique, he has a capacity for being very practical, very efficient to carry out the practical jobs of this world, and at the same time to find his occupation not inconsistent at all with a great love of poetry. A strange human being, you will admit, and not duplicated in very many parts of the world. I don't know whether Principal Wallace writes poetry. I have always had a suspicion if one had access to his most secret papers one might find a collection of poems among them. I don't know whether that is true or not.

He has given us a most interesting address to-day and I gather the chief idea he wished to leave with us is something like this: he has rather suggested that exploitation of our natural resources is no longer a legitimate ideal and that some such idea as trusteeship is what we must consider for the future. Our forbears, I presume the forebears of many of you who are present, were necessarily exploiters of our natural resources. Their immediate needs could be satisfied only in that way and perhaps there are no more melancholy pictures in our country than the evidences of exploitation on a grand scale.

On my way to my summer cottage I have frequently had to drive from Port Huron up through Michigan to the Soo. I have been told that that territory grew the most valuable crop that has ever been grown on earthly land—white pine—and to-day it is a depressing, wretchedly depressing country. The amount of reforestation that has been done is negligible. In other words, the exploiter worked his will upon it and has done nothing else.

British Columbia furnishes us with some other very, very shocking examples of the same thing and Principal Wallace suggests for the future a new word is to dominate our activities—Trusteeship. We are to use what we need but we are not to assume that the growth of centuries may be exploited by a single generation which passes on after having taken its complete toll of the bounty of nature. That word, "Trusteeship", is perhaps going to play a great role in our new world. Take, for instance, the whole relationship of the great nations to the smaller nations. It is a tempting subject to elaborate on, and I am sure the word "Trusteeship" is going to be the word that will appeal to men who have some rudiments of conscience left and are able to read the signs of the times.

On your behalf I am going to venture to offer to Principal Wallace our very warm thanks for the extraordinarily interesting talk to which we have been able to listen to-day. (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: Thank you, Principal Wallace, and, thank you, Principal Wallace.

"TOWARDS UNITY"

AN ADDRESS BY

HONOURABLE EDWARD WERNER

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, April 1, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: On January 22nd, 1942, we had the honour of entertaining Mr. Victor Podoski, Consul General of Poland. His subject was expressed in two words: "Towards Victory". To-day we have the honour of entertaining the Honourable Edward Werner, former Vice-Minister of Finance in Poland, and his subject, oddly enough, is expressed in two words: "Towards Unity". You will note the coincidence that both of these two-word subjects contain the word "Towards", an indication of hope, an indication of faith in the future.

Dr. Werner was born in Warsaw in 1878, passed the examinations of the Lyceum in Poland and of the Academy of Commerce in Vienna, and studied Economics in London and Berlin.

He has had a very colourful career. As an economist, he was Judge of the Court of Commerce, Instructor of Public Servants, and Lecturer in Taxation and Finance. As a businessman, he has engaged in trade in grain and fertilizers. As an industrialists, his interests were in the manufacture of tobacco and the production of sugar. As a politician, he was a Councilman of Warsaw and Vice-Minister of Finance of his country. As a Churchman, he has followed the tradition of his Lutheran ancestors and is a very active layman, his particular interest expressing itself in his ardent support of the Y.M.C.A. As a humanitarian, his sympathies were shown, when, in Word War I, he set up a private hospital for the wounded under the auspices of the Polish Red Cross and superintended the work in the hospital. Dr. Werner witnessed the bombardment of Warsaw by the Germans and did not leave the country until after the Russian invasion and the Polish Government had gone into exile.

Before calling upon Dr. Werner to address us, I ask you to rise and drink with me a Toast to Poland.

Gentlemen: The Honourable Edward Werner, who will speak to us on the subject "Towards Unity". (Applause.)

Dr. Werner: Mr. President, Gentlemen: You have done me a great honour by asking me to speak at your Club. I imagine that my presence here denotes your appreciation of the spirit of the plain man of Poland who under the most adverse circumstances remains true to the watchwords inscribed on Polish banners: "God, Honour, My Country". I ascribe that gracious invitation to your wish to honour in this way those indomitable airmen, countrymen of mine, who in the hour of peril belonged "to the few to whom so much was owed by so many". I think of the battle of Great Britain in 1940.

After the invasion of France the Polish pilots joined the ranks of the glorious R.A.F., in the ranks of which they continue to fight. The pilots passed through a course of training in unfamiliar planes in England, and went up in the air in August and September, and battled the German armadas over London. The squadron named Koseusko by the Poles and named No. 303 by the R.A.F., proved to be the second best squadron in Great Britain. The large number of German planes downed by the Poles in that epic fight was quite out of proportion to their numbers. During their training on British airfields the following saying became popular: "Do watch closely the quantity of gasoline in the tanks of planes in which Poles are training; otherwise they will cross the channel in order to enjoy target practice over Germany." May I uphold my statement on the Polish Fliers by quoting the British Vice Air Marshal Cunningham while speaking to war correspondents on the Libya Front? He said, "Polish pilots have only two speeds: top speed and full speed. They are wonderful. Their sole interest in life is to kill Germans. I have asked for three Poles for every squadron."

I started by mentioning the spirit of the plain man of Poland. I hope to have your permission to develop my argument on that subject. Distances have shrunk. The world has telescoped and what happens at a distance of 3,000 miles may prove a grave concern to the happiness and security of a Canadian citizen. A more intimate knowledge of conditions prevailing in foreign countries permits either to shield against coming dangers or to build enduring ties of friendship which transcend conventional barriers established by habit and difference of language and creed. For instance, the deported Poles in Russia have discovered a link of sympathy with a people known by the name Uzbeks. The understanding has been established by their common belief in God and by the conviction that private property provided a rational basis for human existence. And this happened in a land where "communism" is the watchword and where belief in a godless world is favoured.

Another example is less far-fetched. Polish troops are stationed also somewhere in Scotland. At first, Poles disliked the weather in Scotland. Later they wrote to relatives in the United States: "If the weather in Scotland makes the people as they are, we wish that that weather would prevail all over the world."

During the First World War, the British and American people had included the rights of smaller nationalities among their declared war aims, and incidentally paragraph 3 of the Atlantic Charter points once more to the same course. But after the First World War, a lack of a vital interest had been exhibited by the dominant Allies in ensuing happenings in Eastern Europe. I think that

Mr. Churchill's words spoken in the Senate of the United States might properly have applied to this problem. I quote, "If we had kept together after the last World War, if we had taken common measures for our safety, this renewal of the curse need never have fallen on us."

You are a powerful factor in the camp of the United Nations. Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and of principles embodied in the joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter, you are vitally interested in the future edifice of a just and stable peace, which can only endure if built on solid foundations of principles of justice and humanity.

I submit that the knowledge of the past is necessary before we can understand the present and forecast the future. An industrial magnate across the border has declared "History is bunk!" I dare to disagree.

Poland is not only the name of a country fifth in population on the European continent. It is a name which evokes ten centuries in the history of a nation numbering 35 million people, fervently attached to its rights to freedom and independence, and ever ready to fight and to die in its defense.

The spirit of aggression was foreign to Polish temperament, to which the preservation of its institutions and its liberties was much more precious than any ideas of conquest. Polish wars were defensive, they were mostly fought within Poland's own borders. And that these territories were often invaded was a misfortune arising from Poland's geographical position.

In the fifteenth century slowly matured views of the economical and social necessities induced the representatives of Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces to enter with Poland into a combination unique in the history of the world, a spontaneous and complete union of sovereign states, choosing deliberately the ways of peace.

The consolidation of the territories of the Republic which made it a Power of first rank for a time, was thus not accomplished by force.

In the end of the 18th Century there were two centres of liberal ideas in Europe. They were France and Poland. The only states that dreaded the contamination of the new principles and had enough power to combat them were: Prussia, Russia and Austria. The greed of Poland's powerful neighbours led to the partition of that country under the impudent pretext of suppression of revolutionary ideas in Europe.

Frederick, King of Prussia, appearing on the scene in the character of a friend, entered deliberately into a treaty of alliance with the Republic of Poland, and then before the ink was dry, he tore that treaty up in brazen defiance of the commonest decency.

A Canadian, Professor William John Rose of Manitoba, published a fine essay on Poland's past social history under the title, "The Drama of Upper Silesia". The fact of his becoming a civilian prisoner during the First World War, and of staying later for a long time in Eastern Europe, led to the interest taken by him in the renascence of the patriotic spirit of the plain man of Poland under Prussian rule. Dr. Rose mentioned many examples of oppression of Poles by their German feudal lords, and of the utter disregard for Polish lives by German authorities. I quote: "In the poorest areas of German Silesia, famines raged almost constantly during the first decades of the 19th Century. If and when the crop failures followed on one another as they did in 1846, '47, and '48, then the deathbell tolled over the land without a break. Those in high places, though warned, made light of it all, and the only notable echo was the remark made in the Landtag that the Polish Silesian peasants were like potato bugs, who flourished when the crop of tubers was good, but starved otherwise."

Under a destructive pressure of which Westerners have no notion, applied by forces that were not only crushing but corrupting, Poles had nevertheless preserved their sanity. Oppression has not made the Poles vengeful.

I have dealt possibly too extensively with the Poles in Germany, but I desired to lay before you facts as described by the unbiased Canadian scholar. The story of Poles under Russian and Austrian rules was not greatly different. In Russia, the intention of the Czar was to transform Poles into Russians. Schools were not available for the needy because the Russian Government considered enlightenment dangerous for the masses. In Austria the government was more liberal with regard to education, but the economic advance of the Polish people was hindered.

All three partitioning powers, Germany, Russia, Austria, had in their hands their own particular aims and needs and—last but not least—strategic motives determined their policies. Therefore, in the Russian part, railways were few and roads were bad. In the German territory a contrary scheme was pursued. However, in one point these policies did not differ--defense industries were never built upon Polish territory.

In 1918 the First World War ended. In 1918 the sun of freedom shone once again over Poland. It rose because of the spirit of sacrifice of the English-speaking people. However, that sun of freedom found the country ruined by war, in a state of indescribable poverty, and lacking the industrial equipment necessary to rebuild and to defend the country.

Millions of tourists visited the battlefields of France after the First World War, but only a few pushed further and investigated the devastation caused by the World War in Poland. A few figures might serve to illustrate this destruction: About 2,000,000 houses were damaged and had to be rebuilt, actual battlefields extended over one-fourth of the surface of the country. Direct war damages were computed at $2,500,000,000. Three billion feet of earth alone had to be shifted to fill excavated trenches. The loss of human life, which I should have mentioned first, is hard to estimate for Poles fought in all three contending armies. A part of Poland then belonging to Russia was deliberately laid waste in order to deprive the Germans of the necessary supplies. The inhabitants of that region were evacuated to Russia.

When famine occurred in Russia in 1923 after the Bolshevik Revolution, these people were sent back by the Russians under the most appalling conditions.

Reconstruction was proceeding apace when across the border the now familiar story was acted out. The drone of German planes was heard, the click of armoured divisions began to fill the air, and a campaign of vituperation poisoned the public mind. The plain man in Poland responded quickly to the patriotic appeal. He did not indulge in wishful thinking. But Poland was still a poor country, desperately poor in equipment as a consequence of foreign rule and oppression for over a century. The assault itself was launched treacherously without warning by an army of seventy infantry divisions, ten or fifteen motorized and armoured divisions, and an air force sixteen times the size of that of Poland. Owing to the advice and to the request of foreign statesmen, the mobilization of Poland had been postponed and this invading force of eighty-five or ninety divisions was met on the Polish side by twenty-five not fully mobilized divisions.

The flat country favored the invasion and so the result of this unequal struggle was never in doubt to the trained eye of the American military observer. The performance of the Polish infantry, however, surprised the German command. Polish infantry proved equal, nay, even superior to the German, but German regiments of tanks, outflanking the Polish positions, and the Russian invasion from the East made impossible any further resistance.

I think that the following episode characterizes well the spirit of the plain man in this battle. Somewhere in Poland, close to an isolated hut, a heavy machine gun fired on an approaching tank. The crew of the machine gun should have consisted of six men, but three of them lay already dead on the ground, one man was severely wounded, the fifth, although wounded in the hand, was passing the ammunition belts, and an old sergeant was firing at an approaching tank. When a friend of mine, the Commander of the Division, came upon this group unexpectedly, he saw tears running on the sergeant's face; the man wept because he could not damage the tank. My friend yanked him into safety at the very moment when the German tank rolled over the machine gun.

The attack of the Nazis on Eastern Europe crowned with success for a time the ambitions of the preceding German generations educated in the spirit of Bismarck, but replacing Bismarck's command of Germanization of the Poles by Hitler's order of brute extermination.

I had an insight into Hitler's mind while listening to Carl Burchard, the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig, who had a conversation with Hitler at Berchtesgarten shortly before the invasion of Poland. In reply to Burchard's remark, that the invasion of Poland would lead to a World War, Hitler retorted: "I shall fight without mercy, up to the limit. I am the specialist on re-armament, not the others." He mentioned figures, now obsolete, demonstrating the superiority of the German Air Force. He displayed photographs. He alleged these photographs referred to events in Poland. At that moment, Hitler's face became transformed by anger, an expression of intense hatred crept in his looks. "That horrible expression on Hitler's face I cannot forget", said Burchard to me.

In substantiation of my assertion concerning the extermination of Poles, may I read to you excerpts from a letter from Poland received and read by the Polish Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain, and written by the women of Poland? I quote: "Our only weapon in the fight with the enemy is silence. We are silent when at night the Nazis rob Jews of sons and daughters, when German soldiers shoot at Jewish children in the street, when they drown Jewish children in the sewers and brain mothers bringing food to their family. We are silent when they shoot at our husbands, hang them along railroad tracks, and use the butt-end of their rifles to herd us together to witness their executions as happened in Krakow, in Silesia, and in Paznan. We are silent when they take our last bushel of rye, when we pick weeds, when our bodies bloat from hunger as in eastern Malopolska, when they throw us out of our farms for failure to meet our quotas, when they burn our villages, kill the defenseless inhabitants of areas where parachutists have landed, but our silence of two years ago and our silence of to-day are two different things.

Sir, we report with a cry: Do you and the Government know what is happening in Poland? And if your knowledge is derived from bare account, you can certainly not grasp the full truth. We ourselves did not imagine things could be so horrible as they are to-day.

"Hundreds of cities and villages have been depopulated. They call it by different names. But we cry out: 'They are murdering human beings!' Tennyson wrote once a pathetic poem about Poland wherein he said:

" 'The heart of Poland has not ceased to quiver'."

You can watch now that secret throbbing of Poland's heart in the underground press of Poland. Scores of these papers are published, though death is the penalty for editing and circulating clandestine news. The tone of these underground newspapers is remarkable. They affirm that human institutions should be controlled by the spirit of human sympathy, love and service. After the invasion only elementary and professional schools were re-opened; therefore, the press formulated plans for the establishment of already functioning secret universities.

I abstain from speaking on the desperate fate of the Polish deportees in Russia because delicate negotiations are now pending.

What do these developments convey to you. In one of his speeches, Mr. Churchill affirmed that pestilences may break out in the Old World, which carry their destructive ravages into the new world, from which once they are afoot, the new world cannot by any means escape." I repeat what he said to the Senate of the United States: "If we had kept together after the last war, if we had taken common measures for our safety, this renewal of the curse need never have fallen upon us." "And over here," Lord Tweedsmuir submitted, "That the peace and freedom of the world depended upon a close understanding between the British Commonwealth and the Government of the United States."

Into that great scheme, Poland should be integrated. And why, you may inquire? Because, true to her traditions, Poland was first to oppose armed resistance to Germany's aggression in 1939, regardless of overwhelming odds. Thus Poland is the oldest European member of the fighting community now known as the United Nations.

If love of freedom, attachment to religious faith, respect for the rights of the individual and abhorrence of aggressive imperialism are credentials that make a people eligible to the association of the United Nations—then Poland was predestined by her ideology and designated by her history to be a constructive member of that family of nations.

Poles choose rather to face firing squads than to become Quislings to their nation, and the Poles deplore the tragic death of the former Prime Minister, Professor Bartel, who heroically faced his ordeal in the town of Lemberg.

In the past, in the early Middle Ages, Poles stopped the rolling waves of German penetration from the West, and had resisted the Nomadic tribes which advanced from the East. The wall built by Polish bodies was not shattered by the arrows of the Tartars and of the Turks.

For over a century, the conspiracy of the three despots had held the Polish people in submission, but their efforts to curb the Polish spirit failed completely. In music and in poems, the exiled Polish poets and composers recreated the eternal soul of the Polish people. During the Partition, Poland survived in the hearts of her children, because her genius inspired the people with the will of sacrifice, and love for the martyred country. You have met Paderewski, the lofty ambassador of that cultural and immortal Poland.

I continue by giving you some economic arguments on this problem. The existence of Poland guarantees that the Baltic will remain open to your ships, and that a certain nation will not impose its will on other nations settled on the shores of the Baltic.

Dr. Rose's pioneer work seems of infinite value; he interpreted Poland to the world outside. But just as in private life, friendship is a thing which must be cultivated, so between nations there must be a continuous effort towards a better comprehension. It was Dr. Johnson who said that a man should keep his friendships in a constant repair.

After Versailles internal politics caused unfortunate international reactions. This should not happen again. In future friend and foe should not be confused.

You hold a position of vantage. Your contribution toward victory and solution of the world problems can be unique.

I sum up by quoting from a broadcast released by a spokesman of the United Nations, who interpreted succinctly mine, and, I hope, your views and ideas: I quote:

"If we are sincerely determined to establish a just and durable peace, we must irrevocably decide to discourage the mighty and to strengthen the weak. We will have to stand pat on the principles for which we are fighting, refusing to surrender any of them to any pressure whatever its source."

"We will have to recreate security, prosperity and happiness in a world of untold suffering and destitution. The future of the world is in the hands of the United Nations. But, success will entirely depend on their sustained unity of purpose. It will be the greatest chance in history to fulfill this creative task; it will be the greatest responsibility of all."

I end by reading you a letter from Poland showing you the present spirit of the plain man in Poland. The letter reads;

A LETTER SMUGGLED OUT OF X——— PRISON

Dear Parents,—

I am coming to the end of my torture, for the sentence of death was passed on me the day before yesterday. To-morrow more than a dozen of us are to die. I believe this letter will reach you, and I would like you to know that my last prison was at ——— and the place of my execution will be ——— near———. I do not know what kind of death awaits me, but to-day I openly admit that it will be as nothing compared with the tortures that have been inflicted on me for the past six months and nineteen days. Forgive me all the trouble you have had on my account, and I know you will forgive me, for it is all for the future of Poland. . . . It is not hard for me to die, for I have endured everything, and they got nothing out of me which could hurt others. I am only sorry that I have not been allowed to see a priest before my death. I take farewell of you in this world, but you must live with faith in Poland and God. . . .

Know that I die with the words on my lips: "Long Live Poland."

Your Son,

———

In this context, a Polish short-wave broadcast released by a mysterious Polish station may be mentioned: British flyers and American flyers, do not mind the spilling of our blood. We welcome the zooming of your bombers, this is sweet music for our ears. It brings us the message of deliverance. Your bombs have killed many, and numerous people have been wounded, but we prefer death to enslavement. Do come, discharge your bombs over our heads! We want to live as a free people or prefer to die!

I thank you.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Dr. Werner, your friend, and my friend, Dr. C. E. Silcox, is going to express to you the thanks of The Empire Club for this wonderful address.

Dr. C. E. Silcox: Dr. Werner, as you gave us to-day the recital of the tragic facts of Poland, my mind went back to 1926, when a knock came to my office in Geneva. A young man entered, an American, who told me he was the representative of certain banking interests in the United States. He asked me what I knew about Poland, and, like a good Canadian, I told him that I knew practically nothing. He said that Poland wanted to borrow $400,000,000, but he had come over to see whether it was a good risk. I advised him to see my friend, Dr. Rhodes, in Poland, who is one Canadian who does know Poland, and he did see him, and I think, Sir, you got a loan of $200,000,000, or nearly, at that time.

You have told us to-day a good deal about Poland. We knew relatively little about it. Of course, we knew Polish art. We knew great names in Polish music. We knew at least the Polish novelist who wrote *By Fire and Sword,* and we knew something of the business revival in Poland, but you have given us something of an historic background, by which we can understand better, not only the problems of the past but also the problems of the future, and you have shown us something of our responsibility as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as Canadians, to see that Poland rises again.

Aristotle taught us in *The Poetics* that the function of tragedy is to create a catharsis of the spirit, through the display of those tragic elements that describe pity and fear. You have described to us the pity of Poland. I hope it will not simply mean to us a catharsis of pity and fear, but a catharsis of those things that make us uncomplaining about the small hardships we in Canada must endure before we achieve the final goal, and, if it creates that catharsis in our minds, then, Sir, with Poland we shall go on, to use the words of Mr. Podoski, "Towards Victory" or to use your own words, "Towards Unity". (Applause.)

Mr. John C. M. MacBeth: I have an announcement to make. You will be glad to know that our year is drawing to a close—that is, my Presidential Year—and we are looking around for a new Executive. You are asked to submit any suggestions that you may have to the Executive of the Club and they will be passed on to the Nominating Committee.

"FINISHING THE JOB"

AN ADDRESS BY

WILLSON WOODSIDE

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, April 8, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: After graduating from the University of Toronto in 1929 with the degree of B.A.Sc., Willson Woodside served as demonstrator on the staff of his Alma Mater, and spent the summers in Europe, and especially in Nazi Germany, where he became interested in social and political matters. He left the University in 1934 and became a free-lance writer and lecturer on international affairs. He is a contributor to Canadian periodicals, to *Harper's Magazine,* and to *Saturday Night,* of which he is Foreign Editor. He is well known as a public lecturer and is best known as a news commentator. His familiarity with many odd corners of Europe, not usually known to the tourist, gives his news commentaries an interest and a zest that are lacking in the commentaries of others.

Mr. Woodside is no stranger to us. This is his fourth visit. First, he addressed us in 1934, after returning from Germany, where he found all the young men doing "sport flying", as 'twas said; second, in 1938, just after Munich, when the triumphal cry of the diplomats was "Peace in our time"; third, in 1942, after Pearl Harbour and the loss of Malaya, and while Singapore, Java, and Rangoon were still in the balance; fourth, to-day, when Montgomery's Eighth Army is the news.

One of our guest-speakers a few weeks ago made the suggestion that the course in engineering might very reasonably be made the basic course of study at colleges and schools of higher learning, instead of the traditional course in Arts. Mr. Woodside's studies in mechanical engineering have, doubtless, given him that keen analytical approach which enables him so effectively to follow currents and threads, to balance stresses, and even to employ the theory of probability. If he wanted to let us into his confidence, he might even tell us that he uses the engineer's old friend, the sliding rule, to work out some of his problems. However that may be, I know of no other news commentator who, into the short space of five minute news commentaries, the allotted time, can, in such precise language, compress so much exact information and so much imminent probability. He might reasonably be called a machine-gun commentator. I understand that his five minute news commentaries are made without manuscript. To-day, we set Mr. Woodside up behind a manuscript, but throw the door wide open as to time.

Gentlemen: Mr. Willson Woodside, who will address us on the subject, "Finishing the Job". (Applause.)

MR. WILLSON WOODSIDE: Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club: It is a pleasure and an honour to be asked back again, especially as I live among you. When I think that you can sit at home and turn on the dial, but have preferred to come down here and pay for your lunch, it is really quite overwhelming.

I suppose, if you are in the habit of leaving your radio turned on, you get almost too much of me, but on the other hand, if you don't, (at least this is my experience), the thing is very often gone before you think of it. A radio talk is a supremely transient thing.

I think, for example, of the big night on which we were to broadcast the Casablanca Conference, and our commentary was to be rounded off by a message from London to come in at exactly 10.30. Through some misunderstanding, it came in at 10.25, and only one person in Canada heard it—the control operator. When we wanted it it was gone. How exasperating and tantalizing to think it was probably moving off somewhere in the neighbourhood of Jupiter!

It is hard enough to think—when one does think of it —of the fate of a commentary which is heard. Carefully balanced statements, facts sifted out and checked with care—and I must say I do speak from a written script when I broadcast—are gone in a few minutes unless the listener has noted down these points immediately. The best one can do in these circumstances is to try and put things in proportion, to present salient facts and correct misapprehensions—which are remarkably widespread.

Now you see what happens when you lift the five-minute bar from a commentator, so I had better get down to business.

This is a particularly suitable moment to discuss the subject "Finishing the Job". It is a time when the two prerequisities to our big invasion of Europe have been provided. That is the cleanup of Tunisia and the mighty aerial onslaught against the Luftwaffe, against the bases in Germany of the Luftwaffe's strength, and against German war industry and morale, in general.

But before looking ahead I think we shall have to look back a bit, not as far as to the day when Mr. Churchill made that famous phrase, "Give us the tools and we will finish the job"—how far we have come since then! —but at least to the beginning of this year, because the great Russian winter victory is going to have a lot to do in determining what Germany can and will do this year, especially whether she can again take the initiative which is fundamental to all her military plans and thinking.

The Germans, as we have often remarked, are a curious people, subject to almost incredible self-delusion. It is a fact—if one hard to believe—that they did not fully appreciate Russia's strength until the beginning of this year, or more accurately, the middle of December. Goering blurted this out in his speech on the 30th January—rudely interrupted by the R.A.F., which he had "destroyed" so often—when he said that the Russians had staged the Finnish campaign as the greatest camouflage stunt in history. What the Germans didn't appreciate was how much the Russians had learned from the Finnish campaign.

For their latest winter campaign, the Russians have adapted their weapons and used the advantage of the superior hardihood of their men and wedded this to very high class strategy to gain a clear-cut superiority over the Germans, which I think it worth studying. They gave their artillery, the best arm of the Red Army, much more mobility; and this year were able to finish off strong points which a year before they had surrounded for months, and in the end been unable to take. They adapted their tanks to winter use. They have, for instance, broader treads on them than the Germans have, for driving over the snow. They carried automatic riflemen on top, and towed armoured sledges behind.

They attacked at night, to the German terror, as they did in the last war, too. (In the last war. a correspondent who was with the Russians told me lately that he had never known them to lose a bayonet fight.)

They developed aero-sleds, propeller driven, which sweep around the German flank and cut their rear communications, and destroy bridges, arms dumps, and generally spread demoralization in the rear.

With all this there was the better Russian resistance to the winter climate, and definitely superior strategy. The Russians used this edge to the full, and I think it was only the accident of an untimely thaw which robbed them of a much greater victory.

Still, even after the loss of Kharkov, there is no doubt about it that the Russians have won a very great victory. At the same time, we might note the swift advantage which the Germans took of their first opportunity for a counter-thrust, to remind us that we still face a resilient and powerful enemy, and one who is supremely resourceful.

Now the weather is bringing operations to a halt in the centre and the north, and we are all turning to the question whether the Russians can prepare a summer offensive. I doubt if they have expended the bulk of the offensive power of their central and northern armies yet, as they did that of their southern armies, nor have they outrun their good communications in the north and centre as they did in the south. It will depend on what we do. I think that left to themselves the Russians might prefer to wait until next winter for another offensive. Whether they make the effort to launch one this summer, or late summer—which they could do, although it is yet to be proven that they could establish the same tactical advantage in summer conditions as winter—will depend on what we are going to do.

It is widely suggested that the Germans, instead, may put on a summer offensive in Russia. If they do, I think we should cheer, because I don't see what decisive result the Germans could win. After all, they aren't going to get to Baku this summer, when they didn't last summer. What advantage would it be to thrust their arm out here, to be cut off as it was last year?

There is only one decisive result they could hope for in Russia. That is, as it always has been, the destruction of a substantial part of the Red Army.

General Dictmar, the well known German commentator, referred rather darkly Monday night to the possibility of "other means" which might be used to destroy Russian manpower and conquer Russia's spaces. These are, I presume, the use of gas and bacteria. I don't think that gas offers great potentialities in the spaces of Russia, but still if the Germans use it, we can expect them to use it in a different way than in the ways which failed in the last war.

If the Germans do, in spite of our argument, launch another big offensive in Russia, then that will certainly insure the opening and, I believe, the success, of a big invasion of ours in the west this year.

Should the Germans, on the other hand, go over to the defensive in the east, could they strike at us effectively in the west or south of Europe? Now, here is a point: it is almost as hard or harder for the Germans to get at us in the west as it is for us to get at them. I don't think that with their present resources they could renew the blitz of Britain on even the scale which they mounted in 1940. Consider that we are progressively forcing them to convert bomber production to fighter production, to adequately defend the Reich and the western territory, by day and night. That is the trend which I don't believe they will ever be able to reverse from now until the end of the war.

It is suggested they might drive through Turkey. Well, that seems to be too late. It was a sensible thing to do last year, when they had one claw of their iron pincers stretched out well into the Caucasus and the other claw to the Nile. But to do it to-day, with both of the claws completely smashed and bitten off, doesn't seem sensible. Besides, they would be shifting a good deal of their weight away off when they needed it here—in the west—to defend against an imminent Anglo-American invasion—an invasion on which they must count from month to month and week to week.

There is a third possibility which has always been the most likely, ever since we landed in North Africa, and that is a drive through Spain. This was one thing which the Germans *could do* because they were standing on the Spanish border and there wasn't anything adequate to resist them. By those arguments they could still do it to-day if they chose.

In the first place, however, I don't think they could supply sufficient air cover for a powerful thrust down here. And in the second place, the army which they sent into Tunisia, which two months ago might have supported this strategy, is now being smashed. So Hitler's prospect of turning the tables on us in the western Mediterranean and catching all our troops there in the bag, by thrusting across Gibraltar into Spanish Morocco and cutting our communications to the east, seems to me to be disappearing fast.

Then again there is the strategic consideration that they would be thrusting out their arm down through Spain, and we could strike them on the shoulder across the Channel. Now we come to the Battle of Tunisia. Ever since the probability of a drive through Spain was eliminated by the German disaster in Russia, their affair in Tunisia has been no more than a delaying action. It is true, it has been a successful and even a brilliant delaying action, and we should recognize that.

We were a little too slow, and I think a too cautious, in exploiting our initial success at Algiers to seize Bizerte and Tunis and finish the campaign with a blow. I think that will cost us far more before we are finished too, than it would have to attempt a bolder stroke. Yet, when you consider our almost entirely green troops and commanders, there is a lot to be said for fighting a campaign such as we have, in which the men and their leaders are gaining experience—absolutely vital experience, which can't be gained any other way—in much more favourable circumstances than by leaping across the Channel right into the big show.

Then one can always use the excuse we have had much longer supply lines to the Tunisian battle front than the Axis, which was just a few hours away across the Sicilian Channel.

When all this is said, it should be recognized that the enemy action has been clever, resourceful, determined and successful.

Let us be clear about their objectives in Tunisia. First, they wanted to delay our attack on Italy. If we could have taken Bizerte at once we could have gone ahead very quickly, I believe, to land in Italy and I believe could have knocked Italy out of the war while the Germans were gripped in the disaster in Russia in January and February.

Secondly, the Germans appreciate very thoroughly the advantage in keeping the central Mediterranean closed to our shipping. I have a book on my shelf at home by a German writer, published in 1936, in which he presents an accurate calculation as to the number of tons of British shipping that would be effectively lost were we to be forced to divert it around the Cape of Good Hope.

This is what the Germans are still doing in Tunisia. Admiral Cunningham has stated we would gain nearer three than two million gross tons of shipping could we free the Mediterranean route. The day we open the central Mediterranean we wipe out a good half year of the best U-boat successes the Germans have ever had.

The final and over-all German objective in Tunisia must be to delay the opening of our main front in Europe; to draw into Africa more forces than we had intended to put into what was, to all intents and purposes, a side-show; to commit more of our shipping to supply our armies in North Africa, and leave less for what must be the main show across the Channel.

I think in all this the Germans may have gained two or three months. But that is all water over the dam. The Tunisian campaign is rolling at last. It is rolling up, as I mentioned last night, rather like a snowball. We are destroying the enemy's planes and armour now considerably faster than he can replace them. We have a greater advantage each day and the enemy is less and less able to give effective opposition, or cover his troops or supply lines. Soon the time will come, as for instance it came in Poland in the opening campaign of the war, when the few landing fields left to the enemy will be simply too hot for him to maintain the remnants of his air force on them.

There is a prospect in Tunisia of a worth while victory in its disposing of, I believe, the bulk of a quarter of a million Axis troops, with all their equipment, and a very considerable chunk of German air power.

This air victory is rolling up very fast. Consider that on Monday and Tuesday we destroyed in the air or on the ground—of course on the ground you don't get the enemy personnel and that is a very important consideration—perhaps a quarter of the front line Axis air power in the Tunisian-Sicilian theatre. We are taking big bites out of the Luftwaffe's strength—a most important and necessary preparation for our main invasion.

It is hardly necessary now to argue that we are certain to win a victory in Tunisia. There is our air control. And we at last have weapons which I think are quite adequate, not only for this campaign but for the decisive campaign. Perhaps the Sherman tank is a little high and easier to hit than the British and German tanks. But it is a very reliable tank and with the numbers we will have I think it will prove quite adequate to finishing the war, if that is done in the next year, say.

Our anti-tank equipment is splendid. We have the new M-7, called the "Priest", because there is a pulpit in it for an anti-aircraft gun. The new M-10 is still more powerful. Our mortars are much improved. Speaking of the tanks, I don't know whether you have heard of the new Italian tank which we have discovered in Libya, with three speeds in reverse, and one forward. Of course, the question is why should they have one speed forward? That is in case they are attacked from behind!

Then we now have some well seasoned Commanders —Eisenhower, Alexander and Montgomery. Don't think that Alexander isn't behind Montgomery's successes; he is a very modest man and turns most of the credit to Montgomery. And don't overlook Air Chief Marshal Tedder, who has developed the most effective air tactics which I believe we have seen in this war, and a very broad reaching strategical scheme.

Consider how he is hitting the enemy now from his basic loading port of Naples, through the alternative ferry route across the Messina Strait, the alternative loading ports in Sicily, the landing grounds in Sicily, the convoys of air transport coming across, the landing grounds in Tunisia, right up to the very front line of battle. He is really blanketing, not just the battlefield, but the whole theatre of war as far back and beyond Naples. And there is that grand sea-dog, Admiral Cunningham, too.

Some people talk about a German Dunkirk from Tunisia. But at Dunkirk we had air control and we had sea control. The Germans have neither with which to cover an evacuation of Tunisia. They may get away some of their people, because air transport can cross to Sicily in a few minutes, and cannot always be intercepted. One of the Americans coming back from the big raid, Monday, said "We had twenty-five minutes and we got 31. If we had had another twenty-five minutes we would have got them all."

Speaking of aerial convoys, it is most significant that they are now flying gasoline to Tunisia. If they have lost so many tankers that they are this low in gasoline, then that may decide the whole campaign and fairly quickly.

Now, after Tunisia, what? I have never thought that we would open another important front until we had disposed of Tunisia, and seen that thing to the end so as to know exactly where we stood in regard to supplies and shipping for the forces there. Shipping enters into every consideration of our world-wide battlefront. There are two main factors in the U-boat war, which is a whole subject in itself, and which I shall have to skim through.

The two basic factors are the number of ships which the U-boats are sinking and the number that we are building—always remembering that they are sinking *loaded* ships and we are getting in replacement empty ships. We lost ground all through the war until last August. Then the tide turned and since then we have had two estimates from Mr. Churchill and Mr. Alexander, which show for the first six months after August we gained 200,000 gross tons of shipping a month—that is, let us say, forty good sized ships—and in the last two months we have gained double that.

We should gain this year, if we can keep the U-boat losses to the average figure of the past eight months, three full armadas equal in size to the one we sent to North Africa last November.

The most encouraging thing about the U-boat fight is that we know the formula for success. We know that when we have the requisite escort ships and air patrols, we can send a convoy through. We sent a convoy of sixty-six ships to Gibraltar, lately, against fifty U-boat attacks, and lost only a very few of the ships. We are getting a lot more escort ships, although one has to remember that it takes months to train new crews in the effective use of our wonderful new anti-submarine devices. Lately there has been news of the numbers of auxiliary aircraft carriers which we are going to have in the near future, to clear up the blind spot in the central Atlantic where the U-boats are now finding their best hunting.

Our air patrols reach about one-third of the way from either side of the Atlantic, but there is this black spot in the centre where we haven't had adequate air cover and where the aircraft carriers and long-range planes, and perhaps helicopters, will help to solve the problem.

Bombing the U-boat bases and building yards in Germany is undoubtedly a great help too. For instance, last night's paper told of the result of the American raid on Vegehack, near Bremen, where they caught eighteen U-boats on the slips—apparently a yard that is accustomed to launching two U-boats a month. We destroyed the seven or eight U-boats nearest to launching, and damaged the others, and put the yard out of commission, perhaps for three months, it is estimated.

There, at a stroke, is about one-twelfth of Germany's U-boat production put out of commission in half an hour. Of course it took a lot more than half an hour to prepare the way to get the Fortresses there. It took more than half a year. Those are blows the effect of which one can hardly properly estimate.

As our air power grows and grows, and the enemy's shrinks, its effect in speeding up the end of the war is quite incalculable. We are now attacking on a scale of which the Germans hardly even dreamed when they blitzed Britain. Consider that only twice in all their attacks on London did they drop near to 500 tons of bombs —according to the Air Ministry's estimate. These attacks were carried out by perhaps 300 planes attacking for five or six hours.

Now, think of what it means when we drop three or four times the weight of bombs on cities a tenth the size of London, in one-tenth of the time. This is an impact two hundred times as great as the blitz on London. That is why Air Marshal Harris, one of the most brilliant figures of this war, calls his raids now "Thunderbolts".

I have seen the latest photos of Essen, taken in the middle of March after the March 5th and the March 12th raids. There was a series which showed Essen before the March 5th raid, after that one, and then after March 12. When you look at those photos, the sum of your impression is: *This is it.*

Essen was damaged more, the Krupp works in Essen were damaged more, in those two raids than in all the several score raids which went before. This is a scale of blitz far beyond anything we attained before. It happens that I have been through the Krupp works twice, and also to literally dozens of the other plants that we are busy bombing, the great Siemens Works in Berlin, the big Deisel Works across the Rhine from Cologne, and many, many others.

The Krupp works had, before March 5th, many big buildings still standing, either untouched or well repaired. In those two raids, building after building, the biggest in the plant, were laid absolutely flat, and big chunks of the rest of the works were smashed. Areas of Essen, areas as big as a whole suburb of Toronto, were left without a single roof. Thousands of workers were forced to avacuate and find quarters in some village or town, say twenty, thirty or forty miles away. They will now spend hours coming in to work. Worried about their families, upset, they will miss a few days or, in the case of some of these shops, miss a few months of production.

Our night attacks, it should be noted, are still limited to British four-engined bomber production because up to now, as far as is known, no American bomber has ever taken part in the night raids. But it may interest you to know that in 1942 Britain produced within half a dozen of as many four-engined bombers as the United States.

With these night attacks we have the growing American day attacks. They certainly have their important place in singling out objectives, such as that U-boat yard we spoke about, and in daylight can attain much greater accuracy. In addition, they have been so strongly armed as to be almost invulnerable to fighter approach. For a while the Germans had some success coming at them head-on; but extra guns in the nose stopped that. As the Luftwaffe fades the day attacks will spread further and further into Germany until they reach Berlin. And the Americans are now bringing into production even bigger bombers, which will be suitable for night work and will carry a greater load than the Lancaster, farther and faster.

Perhaps the greatest interest in the current blitz is its usefulness in preparing the way for invasion. All discussion to-day ends with the question of invasion, when, where and how. As to when, I shan't say much, because I don't know. It will, at any rate, be after Tunisia is cleaned up. And I think it will be well before, shall we say, this Christmas. There is something here that is worth thinking about. That is, we appear to be out of step with the Russians. Their greatest advantage comes in the winter and they may choose to make another winter offensive. We would certainly prefer to land across the Channel in the summer.

When we land it is going to be a very different show from Dieppe. The full use of our air power will insure that. We were saving our parachutists on that occasion. This time we will use them in thousands, if necessary, dropped behind the chosen harbour city. (There will of course be other feints carried out at the same time.) Right behind the parachutists will come the gliders with many more troops, and anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns; and as soon as this body of troops has cleared sufficient space for transports to land, then the big fellows will come in in an unending stream.

There will be crack-ups, but they will be pushed aside. I should think that thousands of troops could be brought in this way behind the harbour city, to fend off the German counter-attack.

This will, of course, be the crucial action, the holding of the bridge-head, once it is secured, against German armoured counter attack. Let the Kharkov counter-offensive remind us that the Germans will strike a very powerful blow. They will hope, not so much to keep us from ever landing, as to sweep us back into the sea, to do this several times and discourage us into accepting a compromise peace, which is all they can now expect.

To defeat this, our men behind the harbour must be supported to the limit by fighter bombers, dive-bombers, tank-busters, troops-strafers, and medium bombers of all kinds, while the troops landing in front of the place must have the support of our heavy bombers, as they did not at Dieppe.

There seems no alternative but to raze the whole front of the city or cities chosen, to wipe out all the German fortified posts, sparing the docks if possible. The tanks, I suppose, will be landed on the flank, instead of in front of the sea-wall, and there will be smoke-screens laid by our aircraft to cover all landings.

Air power should hold the key, I believe, to our success. Indeed, our air leaders are confident, from the lessons of Dieppe, that they can win a great and perhaps decisive victory over German air power during the first few days of the landing. At last the Germans will be forced to come up and fight it out, and that is what we want.

Once we hit the Germans really hard on land, with our blitz still going against their cities and no hope of their ever meeting us again on equal terms in the air, the German collapse might come suddenly. It is not a thing to hope about or think much about, yet nevertheless a person can keep it in the back of his mind.

We are dealing, after all, with the curious and unique German character. The secret of this character is its inner insecurity. This is well expressed in a little story which I have from a man who has come back from Turkey. He told of a Greek, who had escaped there, who was asked by a German officer shortly after the capture of Athens, who he thought would win the war. The Greek answered at once, "The British, of course". The German was furious. "Why do you say the British? Didn't we just kick them out of here?" The Greek replied, "Because all the time they were here, not one of them ever asked that question".

What's still to be done after the European affair is cleaned up? As Mr. Churchill has suggested several times, it seems that this may be achieved a year or two ahead of final victory in the Pacific. I am sorry that I haven't time to go into the Pacific campaign. I will only suggest that the Americans, from the preparations they are making and the blows they are striking, appear determined to recapture Kiska on one flank, and Rabaul on the other; while I wouldn't be surprised if they were to press west from Pearl Harbour to retake Wake Island.

That would put them in a much better position to strike hard aerial blows against Japanese bases and sea power. With the carrier strength which they will have next year, and with land-based air support from Wake Island, they ought to be able to move another thousand miles forward to Marcus Island—which in turn is only a thousand miles from Tokyo—and force the Japs into a decisive sea and air battle which would leave the long Jap supply lines down to the southwest Pacific to wither away.

I don't think it is believed now that the way to conquer Japan is to retake every territory and every island that the Japs have taken.

Meanwhile, in settling the western world, the greatest concern is our relations with Russia. These have looked brighter in recent weeks. Mr. Eden has apparently achieved a good deal in Washington. He may be expected to go on to Moscow. Mr. Benes undoubtedly will go there this year and put in a good word. Both of these Allied statesmen have a very good *entrée* there. Nor would I be surprised if the gentleman with the long cigarette holder and the big smile should turn up in Moscow sometime this year.

While we are talking of the Russian enigma, we shouldn't forget the American enigma, which must be cleared up, too. That is the question of what American policy is going to be after the war.

Then we have to finish the job in Germany. An important British statesman said the other day in a city not very far from Toronto—I can't name him—that air control would be almost enough to take care of Germany. He intimated that we would deny the Germans not only the manufacture but also the operation of planes. If airplanes fly to Berlin, we will fly them.

Secondly, about educating the Germans. You can't re-educate people if they don't want to be re-educated, and I don't think we can do it with foreign teachers. That leaves the old problem of finding the better Germans and strengthening their hand.

There will be lots of complex problems to deal with. Mr. Eden, in his press conference the other day, stressed several times that we shouldn't miss the forest for the individual trees, that undoubtedly there were difficulties in Europe, but that was a problem for statesmanship to master, and it was one he thought statesmanship could master. We shouldn't get involved in border difficulties at the present stage.

Then we will have a job to finish in Canada. On that, I would just like to say that this beautiful cart of social security which we are building must be pulled by a team of horses—employment and enterprise, or it won't take us anywhere. I don't think that we will build a Utopia here—perhaps not even the Canada that many are dreaming about. But if we make plans—if everybody makes plans, if every individual factory that is now busy on war orders, every municipality, province and city in the Dominion makes a plan, and each one of us makes a personal plan for something that will provide employment after the war; and if we keep up the spirit we have been gradually developing during the war, and I believe will develop much more rapidly as our armies go into action—then I am sure, Gentlemen, we can at least build a Canada much better than we have had so far. Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen, I stated that Willson Woodside was Foreign Editor of *Toronto Saturday Night*. Mr. B. K. Sandwell, I don't need to tell you, is Editor of that periodical. On behalf of the Club, Mr. Sandwell is going to thank Mr. Woodside.

MR. B. K. SANDWELL: Mr. President and Gentlemen: On behalf of the Club, and purely as a matter of formality, of which I, personally strongly disapprove, I do hereby formally thank Mr. Woodside for coming here and speaking to us this afternoon.

My own personal reaction is one of complete disapproval of the whole business. I think Mr. Woodside has probably given you in advance the next three articles which he will use in *Saturday Night* during the next three weeks. All I can tell you is that by the time he has polished them up for *Saturday Night* they will look so much better than they sounded this morning that you will still want to read them.

Without saying anything complimentary to Mr. Woodside, because I don't intend to do that—I am his journalistic father, so to speak, and it would be most unbecoming in me to say anything of that kind—I do want to make one point about him because it is a point also about my paper. You may not have noticed it consciously, but I feel sure you must have felt that Mr. Woodside was not trying to himself sound as learned as most of his fellow commentators about this war. Did you notice that he never used any of the technical language, either of military, diplomatic or engineering science (about which he does know something). He avoids those things. He talks the language of the common people. He uses the metaphors of the common people. There was hardly a military term in his entire speech. I, Ladies and Gentlemen, am responsible for this. I have been training him for years to talk to the common people from the ground of the common people, because the readers of *Saturday Night* are the common people, and in the kind of world that we are going to live in, and of which he gave us a glimpse in the last five seconds of his address, I think that is a good line to take.

Once again, I assure you, Mr. Woodside, what I have said for myself is purely personal. The Club itself thanks you. (Applause.)

MR. WILLSON WOODSIDE: Thanks, "Dad"!

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Thank you, Mr. Sandwell. Thank you, Mr. Woodside.

"CANADA VICTORIOUS, HAPPY AND GLORIOUS"

AN ADDRESS BY

L'ABBE ARTHUR MAHEUX

Chairman:
The President, John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Thursday, April 15, 1943.

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: Gentlemen of The Empire Club: Our guest to-day is Monsieur L'Abbé Arthur Maheux. Monsieur L'Abbé has had a distinguished scholastic career. He holds the degrees of B.A., M.A., and Doctor of Theology from Laval University; is a Licentiate of Letters of the Sorbonne; and has the Diploma in Philology from the University of Paris. Since 1917 his life has, in great part, been devoted to the teaching profession in his native Province of Quebec, and he is at present on the staff of his Alma Mater as Professor of the History of Canada and Director of Studies. He is also a member of the Council and Archivist of the University as well as of the Seminary of Quebec. Through the years he has held a great many positions of major importance in the life and development of the Province.

The foundations were well laid, and, gradually, growing out of the urge to make himself more extensively serviceable to his fellow Canadians, Monsieur L'Abbé became convinced that his mission was to do what he could toward strengthening and tightening the ties which bind together the French-speaking and English-speaking races of Canada. During the last three years in particular he has unremittingly devoted himself to this cause, and has, by lecture, by writing, and by radio, made an outstanding contribution to what is commonly known as the "Entente Cordiale".

To this end he has written the first volume of a book which has been translated into English by professor R. M. Saunders of the Department of History of the University of Toronto, under the title "Canada and Britain".

In this volume, Monsieur L'Abbé describes the treatment accorded the vanquished by the victors in the days when the Caesars were supreme, when, as Julius Caesar says in his commentaries "He made it a desert and called it a Peace." From those times he brings the record down to the Seven Years War and the Peace of Paris in 1763, stressing the very different treatment accorded by the victors in the articles of capitulation under which Canada was ceded to England. He dwells with appreciation and praise upon the generosity and the humanity of these terms and proceeds to expand upon his subject in similar vein in the application of those terms during the next century and a half. He shows, as everyone will admit, that, in a situation of this kind, there are those who insist upon fostering the spirit of non-co-operation, just as, we may say, there were, maybe still are, those in Scotland who considered the Stuarts the rightful rulers of the country long after the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. His object has been to give to the conquest the perspective warranted by the course of events since 1763. He has worked towards the unifying of the spirits of the two races in an effort to cement more firmly the unity of a united people. To this end, he has, in the last few weeks, given a series of radio addresses under the caption, "Pourquoi Sommes-Nous Divises?"—"Why Are We Divided?"—"Why Stay Apart?"—a programme which has advanced greatly the cause which is so near to his heart.

That, Gentlemen, is our guest speaker, to-day: Monsieru L'Abbé Arthur Maheux, who will address us on the subject, "Canada: Victorious Happy and Glorious."

Et maintenant, Monsieur L'Abbé, nous avons l'honneur de vous rendre nos hommages très sincéres, en la langue de nos frères de la Province de Quebec. Avec beaucoup de plaiser et d'avant-gout, Monsieur L'Abbé, nous prions que vous nous adressiez la parole. (Applause.)

ABBÉ ARTHUR MAHEUX: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen and dear Friends: Let me first pay my tribute to the knowledge, little or great, you have of my language in telling you in French:

Je vous remercie très sincèrement de votre aimable invitation à prendre la parole devant les membres d'un Club dont la haute réputation est répandue à travers tout le Canada.

In offering you in French sincere thanks for your kind invitation I am only following the high example set by their Majesties our beloved King and Queen and by one of the greatest statesmen of our times, the Honourable Winston Churchill

I have never felt so deeply Canadian as after having visited foreign countries. I have travelled and lived for nearly five years in Europe, in France, in England, in Belgium, in Italy, where I conceived a great veneration for Europe's antiquity, great merits and high civilization; yet, the more I saw of Europe, the more I felt I was a North American.

I have visited often the neighbouring country, the United States, where I have hundreds of relatives and many good friends; yet, though I admired the qualities and virtues of the Americans, though they were as myself North Americans, I felt I was above all a Canadian.

I have visited and lived in Eastern Canada. Quebec is my native province, but I know the Maritime Provinces and Ontario; whilst I love Quebec with all my heart, I feel at home in all the Eastern Provinces. Up to these last months I knew the Western Provinces only from books and newspapers; I did not feel a stranger to them, of course, but the pictures of the prairies and the Rockies were not in my eyes; I had no personal contacts with the Westerners.

The greatest thrill I ever had in my life came to me with the trip I have just finished, a trip which took me to Victoria. Now, I know the two beautiful portals of Canada, Cape Breton Island and Vancouver Island. Now I yield equal admiration to the great harbours of Sydney and Halifax and to the great cities of Victoria and Vancouver.

Between them lies the low mountains of the East, the wide prairies of the West, the high peaks of the Rockies. The more I have seen of our land and of our people, the more I feel proud of my country, the more I feel the urge of proclaiming myself a Canadian.

In each of the nine Canadian Provinces I have found the sons and the daughters of two great western nations, the French and the English. The greater number of the French Canadians are in Quebec; but there are about 700,000 of them in the other provinces; 200,000 in the Maritimes; 300,000 in Ontario; 200,000 in the four Western Provinces, whilst in Quebec live half a million English-speaking Canadians, two minorities practically equal in numbers, two minorities equally proud of their history, attached to their traditions.

Throughout the nine Canadian provinces I have found the same spirit, a spirit of co-operation. I wanted to find words which could express clearly the Canadian mentality under the present circumstances, while I was singing "O Canada" or "God Save the King" with my fellow countrymen of French or English language. In French there was a warlike expression: "Ton bras soit porter l'épée," "Ta valeur . . . protègera nos foyers et nos droits." And the echo repeated in English "O Canada, we stand on guard for thee."

These words struck me by their profound significance; in them was condensed a glorious military past for each of the two main groups of Canada; in each I found a determination to fight to the last limit for the defence of Canada.

Yet the program of action embodied in these lines was rather negative; it was a defensive attitude. And then sounded on my ears the words of the anthem of the Commonwealth, "God Save the King"; one line of that anthem held my attention as being a program of action:

"Send Him *Victorious, Happy* and *Glorious."* This was our wish for our beloved King, the King of Great Britain, the King of the Commonwealth, the King of our dear Country, Canada.

It is also the wish all sons and daughters of Canada will make for their Fatherland, the great country extending from sea to sea.

Yes, indeed may Canada be "Victorious, happy and glorious."

No glory, no happiness without victory. We have first to be victorious.

We must conquer the enemies of our democracy, of our liberties, of our freedom, of our security. They are in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in Oceania; they even dare to come into our waters; their spies are amongst our people; their propaganda penetrates our ears and the minds of our citizens. We must rise over their propaganda, their spies, their submarines, and all their strength and all their might.

The English-speaking Canadians have accepted the challenge. They have bent their efforts in all fields so as to keep the enemy far from our territory. They have been told "Democracy is in danger, let us save Democracy"; and they have answered the call. In the depths of their national conscience they heard the voice of the haughty barons speaking to John Lackland, who for nearly eight centuries have fought for wresting from royal absolutism liberty after liberty; they have felt the same urge that prompted the thirteen colonies to stand for freedom; they have followed the example of their forefathers who fought against the non-loyalists in 1775, in 1812-13-14; against Germany in the Great War of 1914-18.

I have met many Canadian soldiers and officers of English language while travelling and I have found in them a strong determination and the hope, nay, the certitude of winning over the enemies. I have tried to elicit from them their views about war aims, but their answer was always the same: they care little about war aims; they only want to win the war; they have a deep sense of duty; they accept their responsibilities; they like their life in the army. Listening to them I felt they would be very good citizens because they spoke of their responsibilities, not even mentioning their privileges.

But this war differs greatly from the previous wars, mainly in this, that the civilians have to take in it a much larger share of work and of sacrifices, than they used to do. I have observed also the fine spirit of the English-speaking Canadian civilians, their work in war industries, their generosity in the loans and the drives. And I thought to myself: "They are really the sons and the daughters of the great English Nation."

Then I turned my eyes on the stepchildren of Great Britain, those sturdy French Canadians, who, though victorious to the end, were given away by France to England. To be a step-child has always been regarded as a difficult and non-enviable situation. If the step-mother is harsh, at times, the newcomer in the family will think his real mother would have been loving and sweet under the same circumstances. On the contrary, if the step-mother shows herself kind and generous, the step-child will hold that his true mother would have been much more kind and much more generous.

Of, if the step-mother always is kind, it happens that there will be difficulties between the natural child and the step-child; there are, in any family, difficulties between the children of the same blood; the difficulties will be greater where the children have not the same blood in their veins. A glance at the pages of our national history will tell you that such difficulties have happened between the two main groups in Canada, the English-speaking and the French-speaking, and right from the beginning of the English rule in this country.

The sons of England who lived in the Thirteen Colonies have rebelled against their mother, old Mother Britain, and one of their reasons was that they blamed her for being too kind to the Canadian step-child.

Similarly, the sons of England who were in Canada felt sometimes jealous toward the French Canadians whom they would have liked to be English, British and Protestant from the beginning.

A difficulty of the same kind has arisen in the present war; the natural and the step-child are quarreling about the war effort, the first thinking that the other is just a slacker.

Gentlemen, I have praised your effort, very gladly, very sincerely. Some of you, at least, may expect that I will blame severely the attitude of the step-child, the French Canadians. You know very well, by my book, by my articles, by my radio addresses, that I can appreciate with impartiality my own fellow countrymen and blame them when I think they deserve it.

Yet, in this particular case, I have been asking myself if they deserve to be blamed. I see the French Canadians giving their money, without grumbling; they pay the taxes, they oversubscribe the Victory Loans, they give to the various drives, such as the Red Cross and the Russian Fund. I see them giving their time and work to war purposes; they work on their farms, knowing that a large part of their farm products will go to feed the populations of Great Britain and the armies; they work in the mines, knowing that most of the output goes to war industries. As they take the risk of a dangerous life underground, so they take it in the lumbering industry, being told that wood is necessary for war works, for military needs, for feeding numerous newspapers on the whole continent. In the forest, or in the mines, many lives are taken, many serious accidents take the toll of a foot or a leg, or a hand or an arm, sometimes of the more useful fingers.

I see the French Canadians working in the various war plants, even the French Canadian women, who have always been confined to home work, are now engaged, in great numbers, in war industry. Both the men and women of the French language work well; they are skilful workers; there is little absenteeism among them; they work with a smile, not with grumbling.

Such activities might very well deserve a word of praise on the part of their English speaking fellow countrymen, and sometimes I am inclined to think that they receive more bricks than flowers.

But, however important may be such a participation to the war effort, what to think about giving men to the various services of the Army?

Here, also, I see the step-child much abused. The French Canadians have, indeed, volunteered for the Army, the Navy, the Air Force. They were at Hong Kong. They were at Dieppe, as in the previous war, they were at Vimy, Courcelette, Passchendaele. They are found at Halifax and Debert, at Sussex, at Valcartier and St. Jerome, at Petawawa and Trenton and Brockville. I have met them in the Western provinces, as far as Victoria and Nanaimo. They have the same warlike spirit as their English speaking brothers.

Was it possible, for them, to volunteer in equal numbers as the others did? They have been branded as "lotus-eaters, idlers, slackers, traitors, cowards, isolationists, pacifists, defeatists," and that by English newspapers from Halifax to Vancouver. Is it really the best method to handle even a difficult case? I would call it the "castor oil" method. Let us suppose the French Canadians needed a purgation; it was quite possible to choose another drug, or at least to camouflage it with some coffee or orange juice; but the big brother forgot the sugar-coated method and he has tried to force the unpalatable oil down the throat of the step-child, who naturally blamed not only the big brother, but also the mother herself, whom he supposed indirectly responsible for the michief.

But did he really need such a treatment? I think we can doubt it. Is the French Canadian a pacifist? But we have all been pacifists in America as well as in Europe! Is he a defeatist? or a coward? But this is quite contrary to his mentality and to his history; the French Canadian, being mostly Norman, has always been military-minded; he has always fought with courage; he was a daring soldier, fighting on against three or even ten, as in the Battle of Chateauguay; he has rarely been defeated. Is he a traitor? Is he disloyal? It certainly would be the first time in his life or more than three centuries. He was loyal in 1764, when he answered the call of James Murray and fought against Pontiac and the rebellious Indians, who had always been friends to him. He was loyal in 1775, when he answered the call of Carleton and fought against the rebellious colonies, whilst English citizens were sent to the Island of Orleans because they would not fight the Americans. He was loyal in 1812-13-14, when he answered the call of England a second time against the Americans. He was loyal to the British Constitution, when he fought for the responsible government in 1837-38 against a bureaucracy condemned by Durham himself. He remained loyal in 1840, though he was deprived of equality with the English citizens, equality which is the first basis of Democracy.

Are the French Canadians isolationists? But there are surely more isolationists in Ireland, and even in the United States than in the Province of Quebec. The little group of Quebec isolationists is quite vocal, I admit, but what has been its real influence till now? Did they prevent the volunteering? In a few cases only. Did they gain the election of Quebec East, when they were well organized? Not at all, for Mr. St. Laurent was elected. Their only influence seems to have been in the plebiscite, when the Quebec people voted "No". But I am afraid you have given to that vote a meaning it had not. You think it mean an opposition to the war effort? But if so, how could you explain that so many French Canadians were volunteering and were let by their fathers to volunteer, at the very same time they were voting

"No"? In my humble opinion the "No" was directed, not against the war effort, but to the politicians; the people told them either not to make promises if they were not to keep them, or to keep their promises if they made them.

The volunteering was affected by other factors. At first one is the large families with early marriages; out of a thousand people in Quebec, 47% are under military age, which is a large proportion. When the family counts five or more children it is very difficult for the farmer to volunteer and to leave the family alone or to send them to another home already overcrowded. A second factor is the high death rate among the workmen and in the lumbering industry, or even, unfortunately, through tuberculosis; of the persons of military age in Quebec, there are more women than men. A third factor is the number of serious accidents which make men unfit for active service; in Quebec, according to the figures produced in the House of Commons, 41% of the men having been medically examined have been found unfit. The same reason applies, it seems, to Nova Scotia and to New Brunswick, with the mining and lumbering industries.

The true spirit of Quebec appears often in little facts. A taxi driver of Montreal told me that he was glad his son had volunteered; he hoped his second son would also volunteer; he even wished for a compulsory military service after the war so as to make sure that the boys would get military discipline, which, he said, was much needed. Three men, being asked their opinion about the war, answered in the same manner, saying that men were sorely needed for the war; that as for the place where the men would fight, it did not belong to the civilians, but to military headquarters. This sounds like the voice of our good people, like your own voice. The Quebec people are eager, as the rest of Canada, to conquer the enemy, and they are ready to fight the enemy even outside of Canada. In 1870 when the papal states were invaded by Garibaldi, thousands of French Canadians volunteered and went across the Atlantic to fight the enemy in Italy; the same spirit is in them when they are told that other gangsters are making trouble in Europe. As well as their English-speaking fellow countrymen, they want a Canada victorious.

But let us suppose that we have finally defeated our enemies. What will happen then? What will be the spoils for Canada? We will simply have avoided destruction and slavery; we will continue to enjoy the benefits of Democracy which we enjoyed before. Shall we be satisfied with such a result. Certainly not. Another victory is awaiting our efforts, and it is a victory over ourselves in our own country.

The Canadians have indeed achieved great things in the course of their history, either alone or together. The French Canadians have been great explorers from coast to coast and from the mouth of the St. Lawrence river to the mouth of the Mississippi river. They have organized missionary work, in the present as in the past, for the Christian faith is beyond praise; in spite of adverse circumstances they have built a complete educational system throughout Canada; they are found in all walks of life.

The English-speaking Canadians may well be proud of their own achievements also; to enter into detail here would be "bringing coal to Newcastle".

Our common work has been first of all in the political field, where we have obtained representative government and, later, the constitution of a confederation. Then, in the material field, where we have achieved the building of a trans-continental railroad; and this was a great victory over geographical barriers. It is a link between regions that are very different; we have made it stronger by two other transcontinentals, then by a vast system of telegraph and telephone, by civil aviation.

Yet, can we say that Canada is a unit? No, it is not. We have made material ties between the East and the

West. The man in Europe or in Asia who looks at Ottawa with its central government may believe that Canada is a unity; the other members of the Commonwealth may also have the same impression, but we, the Canadians, feel every day that we are divided, and we are afraid that the dividing forces will prevail.

What we need now is an interior victory over our divisions, and we will find it in establishing spiritual ties between the two major groups of Canada. We yet have a few of them in various organizations such as the Press, the Radio, many clubs and professional associations. I am glad to mention here a society originated in Toronto by Mr. J. H. Biggar, professor at the Upper Canada College. The name of the society is French; it is "Visites Interprovinciales." Its purpose is to send young men and women of Ontario into Quebec during the summer holidays, and hundreds of young men and women have benefited by this society's activities. Much more could be accomplished if, with more money, a permanent office could be established. This last winter, through the same agency, an exchange of correspondence has been arranged between more than two hundred students of both provinces. The far Western provinces are desirous of participating in this movement. They also desire an exchange of teachers between West and East, between French Quebec and the rest of Canada, in order to train them in the teaching of conversation in both languages. In this field Ontario has long ago taken the lead, with the summer courses at Sillery by the University of Toronto, at Trois-Pistoles by the University of Western Ontario. The Quebec universities and colleges have followed the example in part, and should show a still greater co-operation.

By so doing we would win a very great victory over ourselves; the current of exchanges would be like a double track transcontinental facilitating a solid entente between our two main groups.

A Canada victorious over the external and internal enemies would be a *Happy* Canada, for at last we would have Peace, the first condition for happiness. A fragile condition, I admit, since many forces, especially the economic, may soon endanger either prosperity or peace. It is impossible in a short address to enter into details about the problem; but other writers haxe examined the difficulty and have proposed their solutions.

Would a victorious and happy Canada be contented? Though both are great blessings I think it would not be enough for our dear country. We would also crave for something higher, I mean, for Glory.

We would like to make Canada *glorious* amongst all nations. Indeed, Canada has achieved great things in the past; she has acquired a certain amount of fame in this world, in the British Commonwealth. Her share in the last war was great. Her share in this war is far greater. Old Mother Britain, considering Canada as her eldest daughter, has put a great confidence in her and put on her shoulders great responsibilities. Canada's interest in retaining that confidence, which will be done only by doing better and greater things than we have done.

Do you remember, Gentlemen, the words pronounced by our beloved King in 1939 in an Empire Broadcast from Winnipeg? His Majesty said:

"The sense of race may be a dangerous and disruptive force, but English and French have shown in Canada that they can keep the pride and distinctive culture which it inspires while yet combining to establish a broader freedom and security than either could have achieved alone."

In these words, Gentlemen, we can take a program of action which may take us on the road to Glory.

What is that program?

Firstly, to discard a disruptive force, the one that exists in the sense of race. I have explained my views about race as an obstacle to national unity in my radio addresses, both in French and in English. The sense of race should not be for our two main groups a disruptive force. By blood we are relatives, we are first cousins, we are brothers, if only for the amount of Norman blood that runs in the veins of the English as well as of the French Canadians. If we are divided in this matter it would be on account of excessive sense of race, on both sides; but we must discard such racial animosities. Otherwise we are doomed to anything rather than Glory.

Secondly, English and French in Canada can retain their distinctive culture. This statement is of the highest importance for the future of Canada, for the achievement of National Unity. I have received, as a result of my radio addresses, a great number of letters from French and English speaking Canadians, at least five hundred. These letters are the mirror of the public opinion in Canada about National Unity. The extremists in both groups are a small minority. The citizens of moderate opinion in both groups are the vast majority. The extremists are the violent minded; for the settlement of our difficulties they rely on force, not the armed force, I think, but the strength of numbers, the weight of the majority. They are, on one side, the spiritual sons of Papineau, the Papineau of the Rebellion of 1837-38, or, on the other side, the direct heirs to Craig, Colborne and Durham. Their ideal is might rather than right. The extremists, in one group, would crush once for all, the French Canadians, or at least be rid of them, and, to take the words of one Torontonian, to "put them on a ship and send them back to France". The extremists in the other group and as a reaction against the other extremists's views, would make Quebec a separate state in which the motto *I Remember* would apply exclusively to the wrongs of the other group.

But separation would mean a double amputation, for Canada as a whole, would lose a vital communication in the one Atlantic Ocean, and Quebec would lose the French groups of the nine other provinces. On the other side the crushing of the French Canadians would be a futile attempt. Hemon wrote, in *Maria Chapdelaine,* that "they are a people who will never accept to die", to which an Anglo-Protestant echoed, saying: "they have come here to stay". Various attempts have been made, since the Treaty of Paris in 1763, to annihilate the

French Canadians as a nation or as a distinct entity. It was tried under James Murray, and against his views, by some merchants, and it failed. Tried again by the trio, Mountain, Sewell, Ryland, and it failed. Tried again with the *Royal Institution,* and it failed. Tried also by the Bureaucracy, but to no avail. A new attempt was made after the Rebellion of 1837-38, and this time on a larger scale. Durham expounded the theory in his famous *Report* and various agencies, political and religious, set their hands to the work of extermination. It should have been a success at that time, if it were ever to succeed, but it also failed. Durham's theory had no solid basis and it collapsed. Yet the French Canadians, a century ago, did not possess the strong organizations they now have. No, they have really come to stay, not as a burden, but as an asset to the community, an asset by their culture, their traditions, their philosophy, their language.

They offer them as their share, and as a very valuable share. They admire the British civilization, but they cannot despise the culture they have inherited from France. They ask from their English speaking brothers an equal measure of appreciation of the French culture.

The third article of the program drawn from His Majesty's words is this: "French and English in Canada should combine to establish a broader freedom and security than either could achieve alone." We have achieved, I said, great things separately, but if both groups combine their forces and their spiritual wealth, if they work together, they will reach the goal set by their sovereign, that is "to establish a broader freedom". Is it not the very foundation of the Atlantic Charter? Yes, indeed, provided the Canadians of both languages will combine their thoughts, their feelings, their activities, without confusing them in a sort of melting pot.

The fourth article of the King's programme is to be found in the words he said at Halifax, before leaving Canada to return to England: "By God's grace, yours may yet be the example that all the world may follow". So, Canada may set an example to the rest of the world.

How could this be done? Is it, for the French Canadians, just to copy France? Is it for the Anglo-Canadians just to copy England? Is it for both groups just to copy the United States? No, none of these would give us the Glory we are craving. We have to do better than that. We cannot be an example to the world, if we are only copies of other countries, even though they are great nations. Canada is allowed to have a greater ambition; she must achieve a civilization of her own, an original culture, drawing from her double heritage the best elements they contain. Only in so doing Canada "may set the example that all the world may follow".

Let us then join our hands, my dear fellow countrymen. Let us forget our old quarrels. Let us appreciate to their full value our two great civilizations, one French and one English. Let them become the double basis of a Canadian culture. Let them penetrate the curricula of our schools, of or Colleges of Arts, and of our Universities.

As their expression is in two perfect languages, the English and the French, let our children learn both languages in all the schools, "from coast to coast and from kindergarten to university," as an English Canadian wrote me.

In other countries, after this war, the problem of nationalities and languages may become a serious problem. If Canada retains her dual culture and her two languages; if doing so she maintains peace and assures a greater security and a broader freedom, she will set the desired example to other nations in a similar condition.

Who are the Canadians who would scorn a program coming from the throne itself, a program chosen by our beloved King? Not you, members of the Empire Club, not you, admirers of the British broadmindedness, not you, the partisans of a free commonwealth, not you who have subscribed to the Atlantic Charter.

Not the French Canadians, who are desirous of reilluminating the motto of France:

Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,

Canadians of both languages, this is the road to Glory, to Happiness, to Victory! (Applause.)

MR. JOHN C. M. MACBETH: You will be interested, Sir, in knowing that sitting to your left and your right are three gentlemen who entertained some twenty or more French-speaking medical students here at dinner a short while ago in that interchange of English-speaking and French-speaking students. You are interested in knowing that we have Professor Saunders with us to-day and he has on occasion acted as your host. He has translated your book, *Ton Histoire est Une Epopée* into English, and on behalf of the Club, Sir, Professor Saunders is going to thank you.

PROFESSOR SAUNDERS: Mr. President, Members and Friends of The Empire Club: I have known Monsieur L'Abbé a rather long time. I have known him in many connections—as a member of the Canadian Historical Association, as my host at Laval University in Quebec, as the author of the book which I have translated. I assure you, on all occasions I have found Monsieur L'Abbé to be a broad-minded man, a liberal-minded man. He is one of the great liberal minds of French-Canada, in my opinion. He is more than that. He is a man of deep intellectual honesty and you to-day have seen a sample of that honesty. He says what he means, everywhere and anywhere. He has the bravery of his race and his person.

I wish to say to him that he has caught a vision of a United Canada which means something from one ocean to the other, which binds us all together, and I wish to say to him, in terms of that vision, I wish to say to him in his own language, as it is fitting to do—it is the other official language of Canada:

(Monsieur L'Abbé thanked in French.)

And, Mr. President, I have great pleasure in moving the vote of thanks of this Club, the Empire Club of Canada, to Monsieur L'Abbé for the message that he has brought us all. (Applause.)

"ST. GEORGE AND CANADA"

AN ADDRESS BY

RIGHT HON. COLONEL JOHN J. LLEWELLIN, P.C., C.B.E., M.C., M.P.

A Special Joint Meeting of The Empire Club of Canada and The St. George's Society of Toronto.

Chairman: Third Vice-President C. R. Conquergood, Esq.

Thursday, April 22, 1943.

MR. C. R. CONQUERGOOD: Your Honour, Distinguished Guests, Members of the St. George's Society, and Gentlemen of The Empire Club: The Empire Club is very happy to have with us to-day His Majesty's Representative, the Lieutenant-Governor for the Province of Ontario. We greet the President and member of St. George's Society and we are glad to join with them, in celebrating the anniversary of the Patron Saint of England. Members of the St. George's Society and of the Empire Club have a common bond of fellowship, for though our methods and procedure may differ, we are united in our aims, that of promoting the best British traditions.

We pause to-day to consider the contribution which our Patron Saint has made to the life and ideals of the nation. The love of freedom, and the badge of chivalry, which are the hallmarks of any Englishman, have been largely inspired by the worthy example of our Patron Saint. Those lofty ideals have come to us as a heritage from our forefathers and we must hand them on to succeeding generations as an integral part of the great things which we have found to be of value.

Of the person of St. George, we have some historical information. We have too, the story of his exploits told in allegorical form. History and legend have been woven together through the passing years, but the inspiration of his chivalry, his courage and his discretion are enshrined in our traditions, and constantly resurrected in our actions.

Was it not the chivalry of St. George in his great exploit that later found expression among British seamen? When heroic and self-sacrificing sailors shouted as they clung to the tilting decks of their sinking ships, "Women and children first". Was this not the chivalry of St. George again manifest among men?

Is it not the courage of St. George that inspires courageous British soldiers whenever and wherever they have faced fearful odds on the fields of battle? The story tells us that the dragon swept St. George from his horse and broke his spear in many pieces, but with undaunted faith he drew his trusty sword, *Ascalon,* and hit the vital spot under the wings of the dragon. His spirit of faith and determination in refusing to accept defeat has been re-enacted in these times by the abiding spirit of Britain. The flames that come from the dragon's mouth and almost overpowered our Patron Saint were not hotter than the flames which came from the incendiary bombs that showered the Motherland from the dragon of Naziism.

St. George was discreet. He adopted a form of the cross, which would constantly remind him of the Christ, but would not be recognized as such by the infidel. In his time, as in ours, it seemed as if even the walls had ears, so when he told of his exploits, he talked in parables which his friends understood, but which meant nothing to his enemies.

His cross is retained as a symbol, in our flag. His favorite flower, the rose, has become the emblem of England. His Christian purpose has found expression, as churches and charitable institutions spread throughout the land.

It is my intention, according to ancient custom, to propose a toast to St. George and this toast will be responded to by our guest speaker of to-day, the Right Honourable Colonel John J. Llewellin, P.C., C.B.E., M.C., M.P., who has come from Washington to be with us to-day.

Right Hon. Col. Llewellin was born in England, educated at Eton and University College, Oxford. He received his commission in the Artillery in his native Dorset in 1914. From 1915-1919 he served in France. In 1921 he was called to the Bar. From 1931 to 1935 he served as Secretary to the Commissioner of Works; from 1935 to 1937 he was the Assistant Government Whip; from 1937 to 1939 he was Civil Lord of the Admiralty; from 1939 to 1940 he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Supply, and from 1940 to 1941 he was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry for Aircraft Production. In 1942 he was successively President of the Board of Trade and Minister of Aircraft Production.

He is a member of the British Cabinet and Minister in charge of Procurement of Supplies for Britain and has been in Washington since January.

We welcome him here to-day, and will be favored in having him reply to our toast.

Gentlemen: I give you a toast—"St. George and Merrie England."

RIGHT HONOURABLE COLONEL JOHN J. LLEWELLIN: Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, Gentlemen: I feel that it is a great honour that has been done me to ask me to come as the guest to-day of The Empire Club and of The St. George's Society on this, the eve of St. George's Day, to reply to the toast to St. George.

St. George stands for much in the history of England. Uplifting the shield on which is depicted the simple red cross, he stands for upholding of the right and for the trampling underfoot of the dragon of tyranny and oppression. He stands indeed for the characteristics, as our Chairman has said, which have made England what she is, which in fact have made Canada and the other

Dominions what they are. For you and I and all of us in the British Empire inherit the same traditions of justice, of freedom and of fair play, and we have shown in these last three years that we are fully determined to see them maintained in the world. From the outset of this war there was no doubt in the minds of anyone in Great Britain where you stood in Canada. The war was some thousands of miles away from your coasts, but from the start you were in it at our side and Canada's contribution to this struggle has indeed been a great one.

I think it may be said to fall under four main heads. There is the contribution that your Army, Navy and Air Force have made and are making. This time three years ago, and I remember that period very well myself, even the optimists in Great Britain were doubtful as to how many of our men overseas we should be able to get back, but at that time I think we can say that we gave a supreme example of determination, of courage, and of organization, and so it was that we got our men back from Dunkirk.

That was due partly, of course, to the Army itself, the Army which because of the collapse of France, because of the capitulation of Belgium, was left unsupported on both flanks with its lines of communication cut, but which nevertheless fought back with perfect discipline under the leadership of Lord Gort to those beaches.

Then the men, and the women too, went out from our shores as others had done before to Zeebrugge on St. George's Day. They crossed the channel in every ship that could cross the channel—in yachts and dinghies and sailing boats, in tugs, minesweepers, and destroyers. I know two boats quite well that used to ply on the little harbour on which I live in England and take people for sixpence a trip around the harbour. Well those boats sailed away a hundred and four miles to get to the East coast and take their part in bringing our men home.

The Royal Air Force indeed played its part. There were men overhead, far beyond the Army, fighting off the bombers and the fighters who would have attacked our men on those beaches. I well remember on one of those Sundays flying around to visit about half a dozen squadrons of the Royal Air Force and going to one, and after we arrived there we were talking to the Station Commander and his Adjutant came in and said, "Nine signalled back, sir", and we asked how many had gone out and we were told twelve. However, we went on talking and in a minute or two in came the Adjutant and said that the other three had been signalled back.

Now those twelve young men had gone out from that quiet peaceful airdrome in Britain and had only been away an hour and a half and in that time had shot down 17 German planes and 9 probables. (Applause.)

We went around and spoke to each one of those pilots and they said, "Well, you see, we just happened to come upon them lucky," and there they were, quite unmoved, except for one fellow. It was his first go. But the others were quite unmoved, yet for the previous hour they had each one of them been facing death.

The getting of those men back, an action in which, as I say, all the Services took part, was an immense and significant event for the future of the whole world. It was only achieved by the courage and seamanship of the Royal Navy, by the skill and daring of the pilots of the Royal Air Force, by the discipline and endurance of the Army, and by the cheerful pluck and perseverence of many a civilian in a small boat.

However, we got our men home. They were not fated to spend the past three years in prison camps, but were destined for the gallant deeds which they have since performed in the battles of Egypt, of Libya, and now in Tunisia. At that time we were almost completely unarmed. We had, in fact, an unarmed army of our own and who was there to hold the centre of the Empire at that time? The one fully armed division was the division which you had sent from here—a division now greatly reinforced so it had become a large army, and one commanded by a great soldier.

Some twenty-five years ago, when I was a major and he was a colonel, I had the honour to serve under General McNaughton. My battery was in the Canadian Corps area in France and he was Battery Commander for our part of the line. Together we blasted the German batteries, and I am glad that each of us has been privileged to play some part in the second and final round.

The Canadian troops under his command have indeed a big part to play before victory is ours, as other Empire troops have done in various parts of Africa, the Australians in the early battles, and the South Africans as well, and the New Zealanders, lately leading that great attack through most difficult country on the left flank when Montgomery's army took the Mareth line—that Army which I think has got as proud a place in history as any Army before it.

Of your Navy I will only say that throughout the struggle the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Navy have worked side by side, continuously and well. The Royal Navy has its duties and responsibilities throughout the length and breadth of the high seas. Canada with her Navy is fully taking her part. That Navy is protecting your own coasts and is supplying a considerable part of the escorts which take convoys continuously to and fro across the Atlantic, carrying the troops, the munitions, the food and the other stores, so essential to the war fronts.

With regard to the Royal Canadian Air Force, they are valiantly sharing every task with their larger brother, the Royal Air Force. The pilots go on the fighter sweeps. They protect the American bombers during their daylight raids and there is hardly a night raid now over Germany itself in which your crews do not take part.

And let me say something here about these raids on German industries. We know that the mass of the German steel industry is in the Ruhr district and that by our raids we have been able to reduce the output of steel in that district by no less than 50 per cent. We know that by our raids we have decreased German production of aircraft by 30 per cent. We know that because of our attacks on the railway centres and on locomotives on the railways that the Germans have had to take out of munitions industries some 30,000 workers to build new locomotives or to repair those that have been damaged. We know indeed that the whole munitions production of Germany is being hampered by those raids and we know that the submarines will be far less effective in attacking our shipping than otherwise they would have been.

Well, your pilots are taking their full share in that great achievement. They are doing equally vital work in the Coastal Command, where your planes patrol the ocean alongside those from the United Kingdom.

Apart from the fighting services the second great contribution of Canada to victory is your great production drive. I spoke about this in this very room four or five weeks ago and to-day, therefore, I will no more than say this, that starting from small beginnings your production of vital weapons ranks fourth among all the United Nations. Fourth only to that of the United States, that huge arsenal of weapons, to Russia and to Great Britain herself, and the nation that takes fifth place is quite a long way astern of you. Apart from the production of finished goods there are two other great production fields which I should like to mention. They make a contribution, perhaps the most valuable of all. I refer to metals such as nickel and aluminum. I refer to the vast production of vital foodstuffs. I ask you to maintain your supplies of aluminum. Made by water power it is the vital metal for air power. Keep the fields fertile, the prairies plowed, keep them sown, and harvested. Breed the livestock, fatten the beasts and the hogs. Proteins and fats are vital to keep the forces fighting fit, to keep those in factories production fit, and we want some supplies to share out to the distressed peoples of the overrun countries of Europe whom we soon hope to and soon, I believe, will free.

Canada's third great contribution in my estimation is that part of the Empire Air Training Scheme which takes place in this country. There we have not only young men from Canada and the United Kingdom, but from many other of the United Nations as well. They are taught and trained here for their great task. Like St. George, these young men go forth in individual combat to conquer and to carry on their great crusade. None are braver than they. None face greater danger. None go out so fearlessly to meet what fate may bring.

The fourth and final contribution which I am going to mention is the kindness you have shown here in many a home to homeless ones from England. Many a father, many a mother in Great Britain has been relieved of fearful foreboding and has thus been enabled better to perform his or her war work, knowing that their children are safe and well cared for in a Canadian home.

You, I am sure were as much moved as I was by the Queen's recent broadcast speech to the women of the Empire. That speech mainly dwelt on family life and the Christian ideal and I know what success has attained the efforts that many a Canadian man and woman have made to make these children a part of their family. I know how they were and are being trained and nurtured here on sound Christian lines. Most of them will one day return to their homeland and that land will be better spiritually for all you have done and you will have formed another link, a link of kindness and affection in our family of nations—a family of nations headed by our wonderful Royal Family, who have given such a lead of steadfastness and devotion to duty throughout the whole of this difficult period. There is hardly a city or town in Great Britain that after it has been bombed hasn't immediately received a visit from Their Majesties the King and Queen in order to cheer those who are homeless and, by their smiles and their coming among the people, to give them courage and fresh confidence. It is perhaps well to-day to recall that the heir presumptive, the charming Princess Elizabeth, celebrated her seventeenth birthday yesterday. She is now as a matter of fact, the same age that Queen Victoria was when she ascended the throne.

Well, with the King's Consort, Queen Elizabeth, with the probable future Monarch another Queen Elizabeth, don't you think that we may be able to look forward to another Elizabethan era, not for England alone, but an Elizabethan era for the Empire as a whole? The great Queen Elizabeth ruled throughout her reign with determination, but with tolerance, and I fancy those are the characteristics that we shall all want after this war is done.

In the days after the war we shall find that there are more objectives than we have now when we all have but one. There will be more divergent councils to get into one accord, more little frictions to dispel. There will have to be more give and take between nations than in days gone by. And if we are not to fail those who have fought we must see to it that armed power is no longer in the hands of those who would misuse it. We must be broad in our sympathies, we must confine and eradicate our prejudices. We must help along and raise up the oppressed. We must stamp down, as St. George did, the tyranny of oppression and we must be resolute in upholding right dealing and fair play.

If we work on these lines those too will be great days in which to live for we shall again be showing our greatness. We shall have earned through our efforts a Merrie England and Happy Canada, because by those joint efforts we shall have helped create a better and a happier world. (Applause.)

MR. V. D. HARBINSON: Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, and Gentlemen: Speaking for the members of The Empire Club of Canada, and of St. George's Society of Toronto, I would like to thank Rt. Hon. Colonel Llewellin, our distinguished guest from home, who came from Washington solely to bring to us a message on the eve of St. George's Day.

To us in Canada, of British stock, it is always gratifying to receive a message from one who is a member of the Cabinet of the Mother of Parliaments.

Colonel Llewellin has laid aside very heavy duties to visit us and speak to us on the subject of "St. George", "Canada's Contribution to the Struggle", and the position of "The Island Fortress at the Time of Dunkirk".

In paying tribute to Canada, Colonel Llewellin may be assured that the only difference between our Motherland and this Dominion is one of geography.

As to St. George, our Patron Saint, a member spoke to me a few days ago and said, "You know, I attend St. George's dinner, but it is something far more than that to me—it is a prayer—I attend to pay tribute to England". I think he expressed what we all feel. Our gathering together here to-day is an outward and visible tribute to England.

Colonel Llewellin has spoken to us of this Dominion's contribution to the struggle under four headings: First, the contribution the Navy, the Army and the Air Force are making.

Here we have been told that these have been great days to live in because we have shown our greatness. This high tribute we know will be alike merited by all three Services of this Dominion when the final account is rendered.

Secondly, Production. "Perhaps the most valuable contribution of all". Canada's production of vital weapons of war now ranks fourth. The statement as to metals and vital food we may be assured will not go unheeded by our responsible heads of Government.

Germany too was a highly industrialized country, and was in the forefront in the days of peace and competition, in shipbuilding, engineering, chemicals, textiles and chinaware, but in times of peace her vast works were turned to war production, while our Commonwealth and the United Nations pursued the path of normal industry, producing for peaceful use and enjoyment.

Whatever other gifts the Germans may have, they are below standard in statesmanship and political genius—

no Hitler or Mussolini could have persuaded the British peoples into such paths of shame and dishonour.

Thirdly, the contribution of this Dominion to the "Empire Air Training Scheme". We are all proud that this great contribution to victory takes place in this Dominion.

It is with a great feeling of pride in our Commonwealth that we see young men training here, from all parts of the Empire and the United Nations. These knights are worthy disciples of St. George, and in earlier days might have sat with Prince Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

Fourthly, the kindness shown here in many a home to homeless ones in England. Here Colonel Llewellin has really touched our hearts. To many present here today, these words of appreciation will sound like music to their ears. For us, it has been a contribution of love, and gratitude, that we have been permitted to open our homes to British evacuee children. May this link of kindness and affection in our family of nations be ever strengthened.

I should be falling far short in my reply if I closed here! What about our Motherland? Colonel Llewellin has truly said that "Great has been the part that Great Britain herself has played in these tremendous times". Great indeed! Remember the epic of Dunkirk.

The steadfastness of the people at home during this grimmest of all struggles for freedom and liberty have been an example and inspiration to the whole Commonwealth and The United Nations, and forecasts the doom of the Axis powers.

We have a wonderful history, surpassing in splendour that of the Empires of old, not in conquests alone, but in service to mankind. Ours has not been a short struggle—for freedom and liberty—it has been a continuing struggle and extends for more than one thousand years, prior to the times of Alfred the Saxon, the founder of our Navy, down to our present world leader—Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

Of the service to mankind of this great leader, I will only say that he recalls to my mind the words of Lord Macaulay: "That even the ranks of Tuscany, could scarce forbear to cheer". That he may be spared to the end of this conflict is the prayer and wish of every Britisher.

How glad we are to know that the Church bells are to ring again at Easter, in England's fair and pleasant land. Not to sound the tocsin of invasion, but in rejoicing, that that threat is now remote. To-morrow we commemorate the greatest event in human history. It must have seemed to the oppressed peoples of the world that darkness had again fallen upon the earth, and the veil of the temple rent in twain.

St. George was His follower. We have heard much of St. George to-day, but what of the dragon! The dragon was slain! So perish all tyrants.

As we of the Commonwealth have stood together in war and conflict, so must it be in peace, that is our heritage, we ask none better.

One word more. Our Saxon King Alfred desired that he might live "worthily". Colonel Llewellin has referred to our Commonwealth as a family of Nations headed by the Royal Family. If that desire of King Alfred to live "worthily" was ever exemplified, it has been so with our present King and Queen.

Colonel Llewellin, may I again express our deepest thanks to you for coming to us with such a message on the eve of St. George's Day. Thank you. (Applause.)

MR. C. R. CONQUERGOOD: Thank you, Mr. Harbinson. Gentlemen, we have with us Mr. Lorne Green of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Mr. Green has been awarded the Davis Memorial Prize for outstanding broadcasting, and he will now read for us "The Tribute To England" from Richard II.

Following Mr. Green's reading the meeting adjourned.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Chairman: The Vice-President, Dr. Sigmund Samuel.

Thursday, April 29, 1943.

DR. SIGMUND SAMUEL: In the absence of the Chairman, he has asked me to preside to-day. Vancouver is a little more than around the corner, notwithstanding the tremendous advance of aeronautics. I am pinch-hitting for him to-day and I trust to have your co-operation as the business is proceeded with. This is the President's Report:—

"To-day's meeting, according to Constitution, is the Annual Meeting, the meeting at which the Executive Committee to whom you entrusted the conduct of The Club's affairs one year ago reports upon the work of the year. I regret that my absence in Vancouver makes it impossible for me to be with you and that, whatever burden the making of this report involves, must be borne by another.

In order that we shall not encroach upon the all-too-short time of our guest-speaker, Squadron Leader Stuart C. Parker, the report will be brief.

The Executive Committee makes its report under three main headings: Work, Membership, and Finance.

First: Work. There have been thirty-four meetings, of which two were joint meetings with The Canadian Club. Except for the Christmas recess, we missed only one Thursday in supplying a speaker. The addresses have been outstanding in character and have made an important contribution to the objects of The Club. As in former years, they will be published in the Year Book and distributed to the members. The book is already in process of being edited by the Year Book Committee under the able Chairmanship of Mr. Charles R. Conquergood.

Second: Membership. Despite the exigencies of the times and the demands of war, our membership has increased. We have lost by death nineteen and by withdrawal sixty-five, and have added one hundred and twenty new members. Amongst those lost by death are two Past Presidents, Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D., and Mr. John D. Spence, K.C., and a member of this year's Executive Committee, Mr. A. Ross Robertson, B.A.Sc.

We regret their passing; we revere their memory.

Third: Finance. Our financial position will be shown by the Auditor's Statement and will appear in the Year Book.

The Executive Committee and, in particular, your President, record with appreciation the outstanding services of Mr. W. Eason Humphreys, Chairman of the Speakers Committee; Mr. Horace Harpham, Chairman of the Head Table Committee; Mr. S. J. Andrews, Chairman of the Membership Committee; Mr. Harry Bourlier, Honorary Secretary; Mr. H. T. Jamieson, Honorary Auditor; Mr. W. W. Comber, Assistant Treasurer; Mr. Charles R. Sanderson, Immediate Past President; Mr. W. D. Detweiler and Mr. D. Bruce Murray. All have been untiring in their devotion to the interests of The Club.

Gentlemen, you have been patient and tolerant, loyal and co-operative with me during my term of office, and I thank you sincerely."

Now, Gentlemen, the next order of business is the report of the Nominating Committee, which is submitted under the sponsorship of Mr. Bourlier.

MR. H. C. BOURLIER: Gentlemen; The following is the recommendation of the Nomination Committee for Officers and Executive for the year 1943-44:

President —W. Eason Humphreys
First Vice-President —C. R. Conquergood
Second Vice-President —F. L. Clouse
Third Vice-President —T. E. Lloyd
Hon. Sec.-Treasurer —H. C. Bourlier
Secretary —O. T. G. Williamson, B.A.Sc.
Treasurer —W. W. Comber, C.A.
Honorary Auditor —H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee

S. J. Andrews
Robert A. Bryce
Hector Charlesworth
A. W. Eastmure
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
I. C. Hall
Horace Harpham
H. C. Haynes
A. T. Hunt
Gordon Jones
Rev. J. McD. Kerr
T. Clark Kinnear, C.A.
John Maxwell
J. P. Pratt, K.C.
Loftus H. Reid
Sigmund Samuel, LL.D.
E. F. Thompson, Esq.

Immediate Past President:
John C. M. MacBeth, B.A., K.C.

Past Presidents:
Lt.-Col. George A. Drew, K.C.
Major W. James Baxter, M.C.
Dana H. Porter.

I move the adoption of this report.

Mr. Norman Hand: I will second that motion.

Dr. Sigmund Samuel: It is duly moved and seconded, that these men be nominated for the various offices of The Club during the coming year. Are there any other nominations?

Is this your pleasure, Gentlemen, that these men be elected? *Carried.*

I new declare the Report of the Nomination Committee adopted and I will ask the newly-elected President to take the Chair reserved for the purpose.

Mr. W. Eason Humphreys: Mr. Vice-President, Gentlemen of The Empire Club, Honoured Guests: A new President should be perhaps seen at a time like this, but not heard. However, I would like to thank you for the honour you have done me and I hope to serve our Club to the best of my ability. (Applause.)

"CANADA'S WAR IN THE AIR"

An Address By

SQUADRON LEADER STUART C. PARKER, R.C.A.F.

Dr. Sigmund Samuel: Mr. President, Gentlemen: A very pleasant duty devolves upon me to-day in introducing my friend, Squadron Leader Parker. As a matter of fact, he doesn't need any introduction to a Toronto audience. He is so well and so favourably known that it is quite unnecessary. At the same time, I appreciate the fact that I am permitted to introduce him just the same, and I do it in all sincerity.

It is almost impossible because Dr. Parker, as everybody knows, is a native of Scotland, to introduce a Scotsman without yielding to that tremendous urge to tell a Scotch story, but I realize that my time is brief. Yet, I can't help telling at least one story. Possibly you may have heard it before, but it is worthy of repetition.

It is the story of the Scotsman who had saved sufficient baubees to take a long expected trip to London.

After he returned his friends gathered around him and said to him, "Now, Sandy, what did you think of the Englishman?" "Englishman," said Sandy, "why I was only in London three days and I only had time to see the heads of the Departments". So there you are.

And also, in introducing a native of Scotland one is reminded of that old saying—it was by, I believe, Dr. Samuel Johnson, that the promotion in all Scotland was the road to England. But our guest of to-day made another choice. He thought of, I think it was Adams who said "Westward the star of Empire hold the sway", and furthermore, ultimately, he decided to hitch his wagon to that star, so he has attained an elevated position.

Lastly, I must confess I am not one of his congregation, but as a sky pilot, both for this life and hereafter, I don't know that I could have made a better choice than Squadron Leader Parker, and I am sure I am only expressing the good will of everybody present when I say that I hope he will realize that my time is altogether too short to express to him my feelings of gratitude for his speech, and would like to rehearse something of his past achievements, but I trust that he will realize that you, like myself, are hungry to have from him an autobiography, so to speak, of some of the accomplishments he has been so successful in attaining.

It is a very unusual thing, indeed, for anyone to leave the pulpit and ascribe to such a high position as Squadron Leader at one jump, so to speak, but there must have been something more than the ordinary background for him to attain that position, and I know and feel that he richly deserved, and that he will carry on those responsibilities without hesitation and will add to his honour and glory.

I feel that already I have overstepped the limit, but I do wish to say this, that as a Minister of the Gospel he has attained a very, very high position. He is almost half way to heaven, and I hope he will not attain the complete goal at heaven, which is awaiting him, for many, many years to come. (Applause.)

SQUADRON LEADER STUART C. PARKER: Thank you very much, Dr. Samuel. If I don't say any more by way of gratitude, it is because there is so little time for the address which I have to give. May I say, however, at the outset, that it is very pleasant to be back in The Empire Club of Canada, and that I appreciate more than I can tell you, your kindness in giving me the opportunity to-day to speak to you.

If I look very frequently at this manuscript which I have, I would like you to understand that it is because I can't talk freely to you, as I would, but must keep faith with the censor, and say only, since I am in the Service, what I have undertaken to say.

An R.A.F. Station Commander in Northern Ireland, who was trying to get authority to do a certain thing for me, bawled over the telephone to a faraway superior of his the information that "this officer is here to see and do all he can, and then go back and *sell* the Air Force to people in Canada". That was his interpretation of the letter of introduction I had handed to him, and it was not worth while to criticize it. You could read my credentials that way if you liked. But I knew, if he didn't, that nobody in Canada—certainly very few—required to have the Air Force "sold" to them. It was sold to them long ago, as far back at least at 1940, when it held the soil of our Motherland from the pollution of enemy feet, and did it in face of such odds as the history of warfare seldom has recorded. The Royal Canadian Air Force inherits the glory of that epic defence, and by its own particular exploits since has added to it. And since all Canada knows these things, I shall never, I hope, make the mistake of speaking to Canadians as if I were trying to sell them their own R.C.A.F.!

In point of fact, I interpret the assignment given to myself and three others as being simply this: I should enter the Service, live in it and take part in it for six months, and then in the succeeding six months carry to listeners in Canada some news of how our boys are getting along in the R.C.A.F., how they feel about things, what they are doing, and what success they are finding in the doing of it. I imagine there are plenty of folks at home who want to hear news of that sort, general though it must be, from an unprejudiced observer—especially about the boys who are already overseas fighting Canada's War in the Air. Everyone would agree that they should be taken first, if it were only for the reason that they are farthest away from us in body, and that the censor can't let them tell in their letters all the things they would like to say. It is true, of course, that there are some things he won't let me tell either! But rest assured, they are things which wouldn't add anything to the picture we are interested in, in any case.

Well, I suppose the first thing the mothers and wives at any rate would like to know is how their men are behaving over there, and what they get to eat, and what sort of places they live in, and whether they are happy or not! I can't, of course, particularize. But I can tell you about the enormous majority of the men, and I have no fear that anyone who knows the Service would tell any different story. The vast majority are behaving very well indeed, have a good name with the Old Country people, are pretty well looked after, and as happy as men can be who are separated by an ocean from the folk they know best and love best.

They have, for the most part, good quarters on well-built R.A.F. Stations. These Stations don't look so smart as ours in Canada, which are frame-built, and very attractive with their red roofs and white paint. They are mainly of brick construction, and the walls and roof are dingy with camouflage colouring. But, they are solid and substantial and comfortable to live in, both winter and summer. So no one need think our airmen are roughing it, in that respect at least. Everything consistent with war conditions is done to make them comfortable. Where it is possible the boys of Air Crew, who have to go out and do battle with the enemy, are housed in specially quiet buildings—sometimes an adjacent country mansion situated in its own grounds—so that they may get un-disturbed sleep in their off periods. In the more recently constructed Stations the buildings are more widely dispersed, so as to make the Station less vulnerable from the air. That increases the distance men have to travel from one hut to another, and is sometimes a nuisance. But if the Hun should take it into his head again to Blitz Great Britain in force, as in 1940, I don't think anyone would grumble at being on a Station where most of the bombs would fall, not on closely clustered buildings and hangers, but on vacant ground.

The food also is good and plentiful. Occasionally it may not be cooked just "the way mother does it", for good cooks are not too numerous in any of the armed Services. But, if I may speak for myself, I much preferred living in a Station to living even in an expensive hotel. Some things, of course, are scarce, and others completely unobtainable in Britain to-day. Our boys miss their oranges, and milk, and such like, and eggs are so scarce that the hen may yet become a sacred bird in England! But the normal fare is good, and on occasions can rise to the point of being magnificent—as on one of our R.C.A.F. Stations at Christmas when in addition to innumerable turkeys, there was served up a gigantic cake, covered with almond icing, and measuring—believe it or not!—8 feet by 3 feet by 12 inches deep! Some of the Stations, too, have taken over adjacent farms, and are running them so that our airmen may have their own potatoes and vegetables in plenty, and sooner or later, their own pork chops and real sausages besides.

Then also, there is plenty of entertainment for the boys on most Stations, though some personnel, unfortunately, are compelled by the nature of their work, to live in inaccessible spots—inaccessible because the work is so secret. Naturally concert parties and the like cannot be allowed to entertain *them*. But with most it is otherwise. The Auxiliary Services—Y.M.C.A., Knights of Columbus, Canadian Legion, Salvation Army, and Red Cross—are doing excellent work in this way, with either canteens, sports, libraries, and so forth. There is a British organization, also of professional entertainers—it is called the Entertainers National Service Association, but is known to the boys as Ensa—and it sends various shows of a vaudeville sort around the Stations. But pictures are the most popular entertainment, and into the providing of good pictures the Service itself has thrown so much energy that a very creditable show may be seen three or even four nights a week. Beyond all doubt these entertainment services are doing much to keep up the morale of the boys, and to keep them out of mischief in the towns. Everyone is agreed that they are quite happy to stay at home on the Station at night instead of seeking passes, if only there is reasonable opportunity provided for relaxation and amusement. Hockey, of course, and basketball are the great sports and there are a number of excellent teams among our Canadians. On the whole I would say that (with the exception, of course, of the remote and secret Stations I mentioned) our R.C.A.F. overseas has no lack of entertainment.

The great difficulty is concerned with leave. Not that leave is not freely granted, but because our boys are so far away from the only folk with whom leave would be perfect. How they envy the local English boys of the R.A.F., who can spend their leave at home? Our men have no recourse but to go up to London, or some other centre, and roam about without many acquaintances, and with the black-out drawing nearer every hour, and limiting the scope of enjoyment deplorably. Of course, now that summer is coming, leave can be spent very nicely in country places, and Scotland, Devon, and Cornwall are easy firsts in the men's estimation. But best of all would be Canada. As one man said to me, "We're 100 per cent as it is; but if we could get a look at Canada again we'd be 200 per cent!" Well, it is out of the question, as we all know and they know too. The best thing to be done in the circumstances is to throw as much as possible of our resources into providing hostels in the towns and cities where the boys are housed cheaply when on leave, and helped to have an interesting and healthy holiday. The

Auxiliary Services run some very fine ones as it is. But we could do with more of them, till such time as leave to Canada becomes something more substantial than a lovely dream!

* * * * * *

Certainly I would say the boys deserve the best we can contrive to give them, for their life is full of strain—both bodily and mental strain—which they are bearing with marvellous pluck and cheerfulness, but which could so easily get one down. That impresses itself on you particularly if you live among them on an operational Station. I was able to see every type of such Station, and on every one of them the call to action generates an atmosphere that is certainly thrilling, but very wearing too. Take a Station in Bomber Command for example. It is bustle and stir from the moment orders come in for an operation.

(1) First comes the briefing, as it is called, when the crews that are to go over gather together in the Operations Room, its walls hung with maps and charts, and hear innumerable particulars regarding what they have to do. Those who saw that great film "Target for To-night" will remember something of the scene. There the boys sit with chin on hand, or stand around the room, mostly quiet, but with eyes and ears intent on their instructions. And they hear what the target is to be, and —if it is a town—what specific part of the town is to be attacked. The weatherman steps up to his chart and tells them what the conditions are likely to be, at home, on the way, over the target, and again on returning home. They hear from the Intelligence Officer a mass of other particulars—the route to be followed; the enemy defences to be encountered on the journey, the times and places of rendezvous; the decoys that may await them here and there; the signals and flares the Pathfinder aircraft will use to-night over the target; the dummy fires and camouflaged landmarks that are known to exist on enemy territory; the other raiders of our own that are out to-night, and where they may perhaps be met; what to do and

where to land in all sorts of possible circumstances on returning home—and so on and on, in short, business-like speeches, with a minimum of words. And every face is intent, for lives depend on every man knowing his part and doing it meticulously. For half-an-hour or more, instruction quickly follows instruction in the "Ops Room", and then the crews are off to mull over their orders in the intimacy of their own little groups, snatch a meal, and lie down for an hour to think it all over, or, if possible, snatch also a little sleep before Zero Hour.

(2) At length the hour of Take-off comes, and out on the runways the crews are warming up their great aircraft, adjusting parachute harness, arranging maps and equipment inside—and not once did I see, even in the youngest of these lads, the quiver of a lip or the tremor of an eyelid, as they prepared for their adventure.

Now, within the Control Tower hectic activity springs up, orderly pandemonium, several telephones ringing at the same time, and the radio operators sending and receiving messages between the Control and the aircraft. The ambulance wagon trots into position to be ready for the accident which is always within the bounds of possibility at take-off. But one by one, like giant, winged lizards, the huge bombers sweep along and up into the gathering darkness, and circle the aerodrome once or twice. Maybe one or another of them developed trouble unforeseen till they became airborne, and to the control comes the radio message! "R for Robert—cannot lift undercarriage"—so the message may run. And back go the instructions: "R for Robert: circle aerodrome and report: understood? Over". And if R for Robert remains still troubled, out goes another message finally—"R for Robert: go out to sea by such-and-such route, jettison bombs, and return: understood? Over". And R for Robert is brought in at last, to be met by the engineer who dashes up the runway in a car to wrestle with the problem.

At length all that can go are gone in to the night, and Control Tower, though never quiet, is comparatively peaceful again. The boys are off—to Hamburg, Lorient, Essen, Duisberg, Berlin, any one of Germany's fifty industrial centres of which thirty have already been pounded, or of the 1,500 military targets, on 600 of which, in Germany and Italy, these boys and their like have rained destruction in the past months. . . . They are gone out to adventure again, and I think as I watch them fade into the horizon that many a Hun would be trembling if he could see what we have seen to-night?

(3) You can't rest very well when the bombers are out from your Station. No one can. Everybody is waiting for the sound of the engines coming home. And at last it is heard. Midnight, three o'clock, four o'clock—it may be any hour, depending on the distance travelled. Again the Control bursts into life, and the radio buzzes and crackles. "Z for Zebra returning". Everyone is smiling already, and revitalized. And the answers go out to each as it signals. "Z for Zebra—M for Mother—circle aerodrome and wait for orders: Understood? Over". Then eventually it is "Pancake No. 1 runway", or "No. 2 runway", and one by one our ships come in, some unhurt, some with jagged holes in wings or fuselage. But who cares? The boys are there. Another has limped back on three engines. But who cares? The blow has been struck once again, Germans are cursing and trying to put out fires that will blaze for days, leaving in ashes the instruments of death meant for our armies. And the boys are whisked away from the aircraft in buses or trucks to tell to the waiting Intelligence Officer their tale of the night's doings.

They sit around his table, crew after crew, each man with a cup of coffee in his hand, and the Interrogation goes on. The questions are searching questions, to many of which the Intelligence Officer knows beforehand what the true answer must be. Did you *see* the river at the target? On which bank did you drop your bombs? How did you know it was the east bank? What fires did you see, and what was the colour of them? White? Red? Streaked with green? Or what? Were the dummy fires in the position shown at the briefing? Any other new dummy fires burning when you got there? What was the flak like? How were the searchlights used? Did you get the target squarely in your sights? Or had you to bomb through clouds on to the Pathfinders' flares? . . . And so on. It is astonishing how the answers fit into each other, showing how observant the boys have been —how accurately observant—in spite of the hell that has been let loose about their ears. After being at Interrogations, I have great faith in the truthfulness, even the conservativeness of our British bulletins on bombing raids. If they claim anything, be sure that the damage done was, if anything, somewhat more than was claimed.

When it is all finished, this rigorous questioning, there is a meal for the boys, whatever the hour may be, and then it is bed and sleep—sleep or tossing. The lights will burn a long time yet, though in the "Ops Room", where the Intelligence Officer must put the night's story together for the higher-ups, that the higher-ups may finally give the very, very bare bones of it to the press and people. Even he finishes at last. But it is the rising sun that closes his day, not the setting sun. . . .

Yes, surely it is a strain on mind and body, this business of War in the Air, and nothing is too much to do for the boys who so gallantly are going through with it.

* * * * * *

And, may I remind you, these are not mere skirmishes, these bombing operations, but battles, major engagements, comparable to land operations involving great masses of troops, or naval operations involving many ships. It is not the easiest thing in the world to get used to this fact.. I know it has not been easy for me at any rate. To me war—the really important part of war—has appeared till recently as something necessitating an army on the earth here, opposed to another army on the earth there, or tall ships opposing one another at sea. Frankly, I have been sufficiently un-modern not to understand *war in the air*—that there can be something rightly called a great battle between two forces both in the air, or one force in the air and the other on the earth. When one force was in the air and the other on the earth, I like many another, spoke of the whole business—not as "the battle of Essen" for example—but as an Air Force operation designed to soften up the enemy's defences in preparation for the real "battle" that would begin later on! But *this is battle*—this that these boys are fighting from the clouds! It is not just a preliminary to battle; it is preliminary in point of time, but it is not preliminary if by that word you imply something less big and of less consequence.

The recent devastating raid on Essen, for example (since that has been mentioned), should really be called something else than a "bombing raid", if we are to get it into perspective. It should be called the "battle of Essen", or the "storming of Essen", the storming of a citadel which meanwhile could laugh at land armies because none could reach it alive. Air-Commodore Howard-Williams of the R.A.F. was permitted to publish in the London *Daily Telegraph* a month ago some figures which show the magnitude of this offensive our men are waging, and the forces opposed to them from the earth.

The 1,000 tons of bombs dropped on Essen, for instance, were the equivalent in explosive content of 250,000 field-gun shells. Essen was defended by 300 heavy guns of 3.7 in. calibre and over; 600 light guns of 40 mm. calibre; 200 searchlights; squadrons of night-fighters in the air, and some 50,000 troops manning the defences on the ground. Not much of a "raid", you will admit, if the word "raid" suggests something of a minor kind! It was a battle, and a battle which could be fought no other way from the clouds.

The result of it was, immediately, to pin some 650,000 Germans underground, dead or alive, and, less immediately, to dislocate the lives and activities of from five to ten millions of the enemy. Measured by results, the storming of Essen is seen to rank with some of the greatest engagements in history. . . . I am confessing to you that it is an adjustment of ideas about war which I, at least, have found it hard to make.

Or take the Ruhr Valley itself, where the battle has been raging for long months. It has been defended by 1,000 heavy guns, 2,000 light guns, 500 searchlights, and hundreds of night-fighters. Surely one ought to speak of the "Battle of the Ruhr", and not in any language that would obscure the first-class magnitude of these historic operations.

I notice that now a book has been published by one, Allan Michie, entitled *The Air Offensive Against Germany,* and presenting just the point of view which I have found it so hard till recently to take. Among other things he says:

> "With attention focussed on the Battle of the Atlantic, we have been blind to the equally critical Battle of Germany. We have forgotten that locomotives and freight cars are as important to Germany as tankers and freight ships are to us. There is no doubt that Germany is being bombed to defeat. Since March, 1942, the Bomber Command has unleased the heaviest air-raids the world has ever seen. By December, 1942, more than seven square miles in nine main German cities had been wiped off the map. Some 700 war factories had been smashed beyond repair, and hundreds of others had been put out of action for months."

This writer estimates that our air offensive is pinning down 3,000,000 men out of Germany's total strength of 22,000,000. The R.A.F. and R.C.A.F. are battling with these. Howard-Williams in addition had already pointed out that our airmen are pinning down to the Western Front three times the number of fighters ever allocated to Tunisia, and twice the number they have ever used on the entire Russian Front.

With such facts as these before us, I imagine we shall not continue under the illusion that we have no Second or European Front! It has been there for more than a year, and the fight is going in our favour—very decidedly so. The fact to which we have to adjust our minds is the fact that it is *in the air,* that Second Front, not down on the ground. When the armies march on European soil, that will be no Second Front, but a Third.

* * * * * *

And so I feel that I have learned something in my six months with the Royal Canadian Air Force, which it is worth while trying to pass on to Canadian listeners—something I never appreciated before, and which maybe many others appreciated as little as I did. These boys of ours are not just dropping explosives from the skies on to a defenceless earth; they are fighting epic battles with earth-based troops, superbly armed, fighting back with every weapon science can devise, and able to turn into a shambles the sky in which our boys are flying. *Yet they fly,* day after day, and night after night. And they know the cost; they know, better than we at home know, what percentage of them must inevitably come hurtling down at last. Yet they fly, and will continue to do so till the victory bells are ringing.

And I believe I know why. These lads, very many of them, are idealists to begin with. They are of an age to dream of things to come, and to believe that the best is not impossible to achieve, even in this confused and tangled world. The blight of hopelessness and cynicism has never touched them. And it is for that world-that-can-be they are fighting, and jeopardizing their own youth. It is not for the *love* of fighting, for they develop none of the lust of conflict that comes with hand-to-hand struggle. They fight remote in the skies, and they give death and take death without touching an enemy's body, or being touched by an enemy's hand. There is no lust of battle generated in the hearts of airmen—it is in so few of them that that can be said without any exaggeration. They are making war for an object; it is the object—not any physical passion—that keeps them going; and the object is to cleanse the world of something that now defiles it.

Besides, there are sights to be seen high in the heavens that purge gross passions away, and seem to encourage even the highest idealism—visions to be seen that no one can see and yet remain the same. . . . On a night last February, I was returning with a Canadian crew from an operation on which I was permitted to go. It was a night of full moon, but a thick layer of cloud hid the light from those on the earth. We climbed through it to 7,000 feet or more, and came into a new world—a deep blue sky with the moon at her fullest riding in it, and underneath us a new land, a cloud-land of hills and valleys. I had seen it before flying in Western Canada, but never so gorgeously as this, and (as it seemed to me) never so opportunely and significantly as this time. "A new heaven and a new earth"! The old earth sweating blood down there so far away, and we looking upon—almost you might say, living in—the world of to-morrow, the world that can be, the world of beauty and peace. . . . And lest you think I was the only one to sense the symbolism of that scene, let me tell you that it was one of the boys who first spoke to me about it, after our Interrogation was over, and two others quietly agreed. I was the fourth to speak and agree. . . . And so I think I know what keeps these young lads daring death in the air. If we can all live up to their level, we shall make a bold bid for that finer world, after all.

DR. SIGMUND SAMUEL: We will now call on Mr. R. A. Stapells to propose a vote of thanks to the speaker.

MR. R. A. STAPELLS: Before doing so, Mr. Chairman, perhaps the members will permit me to make a personal observation or two. I don't know who is responsible for arranging the head table to-day but I want to express my appreciation and thanks to whoever was responsible. Twenty-five years ago this month, I was elected President of The Empire Club. There were four musketeers at that time, very active in the affairs of The Empire Club, and they are all sitting here at this end of the table. The Chairman of the Reception Committee is still the Chairman of the Reception Committee—our friend Mr. F. B.

Fetherstonhaugh. By the way, on that occasion they presented the flag you see on the opposite wall to The Empire Club. The Chairman of the Speakers Committee, my friend, Fred Coombs, at my right, and our friend Billy Brooks. So I want to thank whoever arranged the head table for putting us together. We are still active, every one.

Then I think you would like me to say how pleased we are that our genial fellow-member, Dr. Samuel, presided at the meeting to-day. Almost since the inception of this Club, Dr. Samuel has been a loyal constant, generous supporter.

And now, on your behalf I want to say how indebted we are to our friend, our fellow member, the brilliant, eloquent pastor of New St. Andrew's—Squadron Leader Stuart Parker, for coming here and telling us the story of his contact with our fellows of the Royal Air Force overseas.

You know, we Canadian Britishers get a thrill, and I think rightly so, when we think of the exploits of our men of the Army, the men of the Navy, and the men of the Air Force. But because of tradition—and I have reference to the exploits of Billy Bishop, V.C., and his comrades in the last war, and because of what Churchill said about, "Never has been so much owed by so many to so few", we get a special thrill when we think of the boys of the Air Force.

So we want to thank Squadron Leader Parker for bringing to us such a stirring and comforting review of what he saw, and what he learned of our boys who are battling for us overseas, what they have done, what they are doing and what, please God, they will do before they are through to bring ultimate victory.

So, on behalf of The Club, Dr. Parker, thank you a thousand times for your not only interesting but very comforting message that you have delivered in such a delightful way. (Applause.)

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

30th APRIL, 1943

9th June, 1943.

The President and Members of the Executive Committee,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,—

We have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1943, and have prepared and attach hereto a Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 30th April, 1943.

We report thereon as follows:—

Membership Fees:

We have not verified the receipt by the Club of each individual member's fee, but we are satisfied that in total all 1942-43 fees receivable from members on record as at 30th April, 1943, have been collected.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:—

	Resident	Non-Resident	Hon. and Life	Hon. "Active Service"	Total
30th April, 1942	922	41	17	32	1,012
Net Increase or *Decrease*	31	*3*	2	11	41
30th April, 1943	953	38	19	43	1,053

We have not examined the Membership Roll. The Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1943, contained 1,053 Members as shown.

Payments:

All payments made during the year were listed in the Minutes of the Executive Committee as authorized.

Liabilities: The Treasurer, Mr. W. W. Comber, has certified that to the best of his knowledge there were no outstanding liabilities as at 30th April, 1943.

Fidelity Bond:

Mr. W. W. Comber, the Treasurer, is bonded for $500.00.

Acknowledgment:

We express our appreciation of the assistance and courtesy extended to us by the Secretary and the Treasurer during the course of our work.

Reported by,

H. T. Jamieson & Company,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
9th June, 1943.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Receipts and Payments for the Year Ended 30th April, 1943

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1942					$ 1,397.45

RECEIPTS

Membership Fees		$ 4,039.00		
Interest:				
On Investment	$32.50			
On Savings Account	28.97			
		61.47		
Sale of Year Books		24.00		
			$ 4,124.47	

PAYMENTS

Luncheon Expenses		$ 5,898.85			
Less:					
Sale of Tickets.					
By Outside Agencies	$4,958.00				
By Treasurer	422.00	5,380.00			
			518.85		
Printing, Postage and Stationery			2,349.11		
Recording and Publicity			440.50		
Honoraria:					
Secretary		$ 150.00			
Treasurer		207.49			
Stenographer		72.50			
			429.99		
Speakers Fees and Expenses			388.07		
Miscellaneous Expenses			49.98		
Telephone and Telegraph			187.74		
				4,364.24	
Excess of Payments over Receipts					239.77
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1943					$ 1,157.68

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1943, and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that, in our opinion, the above statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1943.

In addition to the cash balance of $1,157.68, the Club holds $1,000.00 Dominion of Canada 3¼% First War Loan Bonds due 1st February, 1948-52.

H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
9th June, 1943.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

*1903-1912	Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.
*1913-1926	Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
*1927-1931	Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1931-1935	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.G., G.C.M.G.
*1935-1940	Rt. Hon. Lord Tweedsmuir, G.C.M.G., C.H.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

		*1902-05	Brig.-Gen. James Mason
		*1905-06	Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
		*1906-07	J. P. Murray, Esq.
		1907-08	J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
		*1908-09	D. J. Goggin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.
	-	1909-10	Elias Clouse Esq., M.D.
		*1910-11	J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.R.S.
		1911-12	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
		*1912-13	Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
		*1913-14	Mr. Justice James Craig
		*1914-15	Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart
		*1915-16	Albert Ham, Esq., Musc. Doc.
		*1916-17	James Black Perry, Esq.
		*1917-18	Norman Sommerville, Esq., M.A., K.C.
	✓	1918	F. J. Coombs, Esq.
7-8	✓	1919	R. A. Stapells, Esq.
		*1920	Arthur Hewitt, Esq.
		*1921	Brig. Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
		*1922	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
	x	1923	Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
8-9	x	1924	William Brooks, Esq.
		*1925	Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
	x	1926	Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon. A.D.C., V.D.
		*1927	Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.
	✓	1928	Robert H. Fennell, Esq., K.C.
		*1929	Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
		*1930	John D. Spence, Esq., B.A., K.C.
9-50	✓	1931	H. G. Stapells, Esq., K.C.
	✓	1932-33	Lt.-Col. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
	x	1933-34	Major W. Jas. Baxter, M.C.
50-1	x	1934-35	Dana H. Porter, Esq.
		1935-36	J. H. Brace, Esq.
	x	1936-37	Major G. B. Balfour, B.A., K.C.
	-	1937-38	Major R. M. Harcourt
51-2	-	1938-39	J. P. Pratt, Esq., K.C.
	-	1939-40	F. A. Gaby, Esq., B.A.Sc., D.Sc.
		1940-41	The Honourable G. Howard Ferguson, P.C. (Can.), K.C.
52-3	x	1941-42	C. R. Sanderson, Esq., M.A., B.Sc.

* Deceased

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

Officers and Executive Committee

Year 1943-1944

President: W. Eason Humphreys, Esq.
First Vice-President: C. R. Conquergood, Esq.
Second Vice-President: F. L. Clouse, Esq.
Third Vice-President: T. E. Lloyd, Esq.
Honorary Secretary-Treasurer: H. C. Bourlier, Esq.
Secretary: O. T. G. Williamson, Esq., B.A.Sc.
Treasurer: W. W. Comber, Esq., C.A.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, Esq., F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

S. J. Andrews, Esq.
Robert A. Bryce, Esq.
Hector Charlesworth, Esq.
A. W. Eastmure, Esq.
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
I. C. Hall, Esq.
Horace Harpham, Esq.
H. C. Haynes, Esq.
A. T. Hunt, Esq.
Gordon Jones, Esq.
Rev. J. McD. Kerr
T. Clark Kinnear, Esq., C.A.
John Maxwell, Esq.
J. P. Pratt, Esq., K.C.
Loftus H. Reid, Esq.
Sigmund Samuel, Esq., LL.D.
E. F. Thompson, Esq.

Immediate Past President:

John C. M. MacBeth, Esq., B.A., K.C.

Past Presidents:

Lt.-Col. George A. Drew, V.D.
Major W. James Baxter, M.C.
Dana H. Porter, Esq.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c) and (d), must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meetitng of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article active resident and associate members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and non-resident members $3.00, payable on the first day of October in each year in respect of the Club year from May 1 to April 30 then current. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of April in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer; a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; the Executive Committee shall consist of these officers and 17 other members who with the officers shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President and such ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office till April 30 of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at a regular or special meeting to be held not less than four, and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at a regular meeting of the Club held during the month of May.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

MEMBERS WITH HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES
(Carried as Honorary Members)

Aird, Lieut. W. H.
Armstrong, J. S. P.
Ashlin, C. H. N.
Beardsworth, H.
Bond, E. A.
Burgess, Major F. A.
Burnaby, F. Harding
Campbell, E. M.
Clarkson, Major Robert C.
Crawford-Brown, Lyman
Crawford-Brown, Norman
Davis, Bruce P.
Dunlap, Lieut. D. M.
Fallis, Col. The Rev. Geo. O.
Gale, George T.
Gibson, Col. R. B., K.C.
Gilbert, C. A.
Gilmour, Lieut. Thos. W.
Grassett, Lieut.-Col. S. H. B.
Gundy, C. L.
Harcourt, Major R. M.
Hatch, Carr
Hills, Rev. William
Johnston, Lieut.-Col. Baptist
Johnston, Erskine B.
Jolliffe, W. H.
Junkin, Major Lawrence
Lee, Flying Officer, H. T. I.
Massey, Squadron Ldr. Denton
Matthews, Flight Lieut. A. Beech
Matthews, Lieut. F. B.
Matthews, Flight Lieut. Paul W.
Morrow, Flight Lieut. Graham
Nash, Col. A. E., M.C.
Noyes, G. R. Finch
Nunn, Norman A.
Parker, Very Rev. Stuart C., D.D.
Parks, Arthur H.
Picard, Pilot Officer R. I. C.
Pickup, J. D.
Ruttan, Lieut.-Col. C. M.
Watson, Col. W. H.
Wilson, Lieut. Hugh

LIFE AND HONORARY MEMBERS

Bickell, J. P.
Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert A.
Clouse, Dr. Elias
Coombs, F. J.
Fasken, Alex.
Ferguson, Hon. G. Howard, K. C.
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B., K.C.
Geary, Major B. Handley, V.C.
Kernahan, W. T.
MacDougall, A. Roy
MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Murdoch, Jas. Y., K.C., LL.D.
Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, H. G., K.C.
Stapells, R. A.
Stewart, J. F. M.
Tindall, H. B.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Baker, Robert P.
Beaumont, Arthur
Boyd, Mossom deG.
Brace, J. H.

Bradley, Bruce H.
Bradley, E.
Cawthra-Elliott, Maj. Gen. H. M.
Davis, Aubrey
Dunlop, R. H.
Fraser, Alasdair D. R.
Hitchcock, C. H.
Hollyman, F. K.
Hughes, Gordon R.
Hutcheson, Frank W.
Jackson, E. H.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Leather, Harold H.
Livingston, J. A.
Lovell, E. A.
MacKay, G. F. A.
McBain, Alex.
McCrea, T. Arthur
McCulley, Joseph
McIntosh, C. H.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
McLean, W. A.
Over, Spencer Henry
Reaume, Mayor Arthur J.
Rice, H. E.
Richardson, Dr. R. N. C.
Ryan, John
Sanders, C. J.
Shergold, Lt.-Col. C.
Sinclair, Dr. D. J.
Steele, C. E.
Tudhope, John H.
Wideman, Harvey
Wood, Chester F.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.
Adams, A. A.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, J. C.
Adamson, H. R.
Agar, Norman E.
Ahuja, M. R.
Alberts, Edgar T.
Alexander, John B.
Alexander, R. W.
Alexander, Samuel
Allen, Geo. H.
Allen, Thomas
Alley, B. P.
Ambrose, J. R. W.
Anderson, J. Murray
Andrews, S. J.
Appleton, C. N.
Archdekin, W. O.
Armour, Rev. J. B. M.
Armstrong, W. J.
Armstrong, Rev. Dr. W. L.
Armstrong, W. M.
Arnoldi, Colonel F. F.
Atkinson, Fred
Atkinson, F. L.

Babbitt, G. W.
Babcock, Harold A.
Bain, George
Bain, H. R.
Bainard, R. H.
Baker, Col. E. A.
Baker, E. G.
Baker, Geo. A.
Baldwin, H. A.
Balfour, Gordon B., K.C.
Ballard, B. W.
Band, Chas. S.
Banks, E. Harold
Barber, Geo.
Barber, William
Barbour, Royden M.
Bark, W. A.
Barker, E. H.
Bartman, G. M.
Bate, Wm. B.
Batten, Reg. A.
Batten, W. Howard
Baxter, Major W. James
Bealey, Ernest R.
Beaton, A. H.
Beatty, Dr. Hy. A., M.R.C.S.
Beatty, W.
Begg, Herbert
Bell, Dr. W. J.

Bennett, E. J.
Bennett, Norman D.
Benson, D. F.
Berkinshaw, N. W.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Bernard, M.
Best, T. Harrison
Bevan, G. H.
Bickle, E. W.
Bignell, T.
Birkenshaw, J. H.
Bishop, G.
Bishop, H. H.
Blackwell, H. W.
Blackwell, Leslie E.
Bland, Rev. Salem G.
Boase, J. B.
Bogert, C. A.
Bolger, H. N.
Bomby, W. S.
Bond, Major F. L. C.
Bongard, Gordon R.
Bongard, R. R.
Bonnell, W. H. M.
Bourlier, H. C.
Bowman, Tom E.
Boxer, Reginald N.
Boyter, J. B.
Brathwaite, F. Y. W.
Bremner, Donald G.
Brittain, Horace L.
Brockwell, Meredith
Brooke, Arthur T.
Brooks, W.
Brown, F. I.
Brown, Henry
Brown, Chancellor W. T.
Brown, Murray
Brown, Stuart H.
Brown, W. E.
Browne, R. J.
Bryce, Very Rev. Peter, D.D., D.C.L.
Bryce, Robt. A.
Bryson, R. N.
Bull, Wm. Perkins, K.C.
Bunting, J. D., Jr.
Burgess, C. H.
Burgess, John H.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burns, H. D.
Burns, Rev. Dr. R. N.
Burt, A. W.
Burton, C. L.
Burton, E. G.
Bush, Clayton E.
Butt, Dr. W. H.
Byrne, A. T.
Calvin, C. C.

Cameron, Harry
Cameron, Capt. J. Duncan
Cameron, W. A.
Campbell, Andrew
Campbell, Dr. Colin A.
Capell, S. L.
Carl, Gordon A.
Carlisle, C. H.
Carnegie, F. T.
Carradus, Capt. H. R.
Carriere, S. W.
Carroll, Frank J.
Carruthers, Geo.
Carruthers, Geo. L.
Carson, James L.
Carthy, Dr. W. C.
Cartwright, Brig. Gen. G. S.
Cassidy, H. F.
Caulder, J. A.
Caven, Dr. W. R.
Chalmers, Floyd S.
Charles, Leo E.
Charlesworth, Hector
Chipman, J. H.
Chisholm, Lt.-Col. Geo. T.
Christian, D. F.
Clark, C. C.
Clark, C. T.
Clark, Herbert A., K.C.
Clark, Dr. Stanley K.
Clark, Dr. Wm. J.
Clarke, W. H.
Clarkson, G. T.
Cliff, Geo. J.
Clouse, F. L.
Coatsworth, Alan
Cody, President H. J.
Coke, Major E. F.

Colberg, A. M.
Colby, S. A.
Cole, Joseph A.
Colebrook, H. G.
Collington, George E.
Comber, W. W.
Complin, Gordon
Conant, Hon. Gordon D., K.C.
Conquergood, Chas. R.
Coon, H. J.
Cooper, Ashton B.
Cork, J. Milton
Corlett, W. E.
Cormack, D. J.
Corrigan, Fred S.
Corson, R. R.
Cosgrave, Provost F. H.
Coste, E. F.
Cottrelle, Geo. R.
Coulter, J. E.
Coulter, W. C.
Coulter, W. Howard
Courtice, A. Roy
Coutts, Wm. E.
Cowan, F. W.
Cowan, Major R. Cecil
Craick, W. A.
Craig, O. Vernon
Craig, T. A.
Crang, J. H.
Cranstoun, John A.
Crawford, F. J.
Crawley, Charles E.
Creighton, Arthur H.
Crighton, A. S.
Crockett, E.
Crossin, H. W.
Crossingham, J. H.
Crowell, Samuel G.
Cudworth, W. O.

Daley, A. W.
Dallas, Rev. A. M.
Daly, R. O.
Dargavel, R. B.
Davies, J. E.
Davis, Bertram N.
Davis, George A.
Davis, Geo. D.
Davis, R. Reade
Davis, W. H.
Deacon, Col. F. H.
Dean, W. G.
Dean, Rev. S. W.
Decker, Chester J.
Dent, C. R.
Dentay, E. G.
Detweiler, W O.
DeWitt, Prof. N. W.
Dickey, A. J.
Dilworth, W. A.
Dingle, Major Gordon R. M.
Dix, Wm. B.
Dolson, Dr. Wilbur J. M.
Doran, F. C.
Douglas, Howard R.
Draimin, Charles
Drew, Lt.-Col. Geo. A.
Duffett, Norman G.
DuMoulin, W H.
Duncan, Jas. S.
Duncan, S. F.
Dunkelman, D.
Dunn, William
Durance, John J.
Durland, D. C.
Dutton, Thomas M.
Dyke, Jas. E.

Eastmure, A. W.
Eaton, Col. R. Y.
Eby, H. D.
Edmonds, C. E.
Edwards, A. Geoffrey
Edwards, H. Percy
Elgie, G. C.
Elkington, Percy W.
Ellen, R. R.
Elliot, B. V.
Elliott, J. A.
Ellis, C. Q.
Ellis, Matthew T.
Ellsworth, A. L.
Elton, J. O.
Ely, E. F.
Everett, Curtis T.
Ewing, Thos. H.

Faber, R. W.
Fairweather, R. H.
Falconer, H. W.
Falconer, Sir Robert
Fennell, Robert H., K.C.
Ferguson, A. B.
Ferguson, B. H.
Ferguson, H. H.
Ferguson, H. M.
Ferguson, M.
Fessenden, C. V.
Firkins, Geo.
Firstbrook, Hugh M.
Fisher, D. B.
Fitch, P. F.
Fleming, Donald M.
Fleming, G. O.
Fleming, Major Robt.
Fletcher, S. S.
Flynn, J.
Forrester, Wm. J.
Fox, E. D.
Frame, S. J.
Frankel, Roy H.
Fraser, John A.
French, George, M. D.
Freyseng, Edward J.
Frost, Harold R.
Fry, H.
Fulford, R. T.
Fyvie, J. M.

Gaby, Dr. F. A.
Gadway, Bruce
Gairdner, J. A.
Gale, George C.
Gale, R. H.
Gardiner, F. G.
Gardiner, Percy R.
Gaunt, J. Wm.
Gianelli, Chevalier V.
Gibson, D. H.
Gibson, R. M.
Gifford, W. M.
Gilchrist, Prof. Lachlan
Gilchrist, T. S.
Giles, T. S. H.
Gillespie, James
Gilmour, A. H.
Glennie, Geo. H.
Glover, H. N.
Goggin, Victor T.
Gohn, Byron E.
Goldberg, A. M. P.
Gooderham, E. D.
Gooderham, M. Ross, K.C.
Gooding, T. W.
Gordon, A. B.
Gordon, T. A.
Gordon, Wm. E.
Gould, J. Lyall S.
Gowdy, D. M.
Graham, Kingsley, K.C.
Grand, Percy F.
Grant, J. R.
Grant, W. G. F.
Grattan, William R. B.
Greaves, J. B.
Greeniaus, H. A.
Greenland, John E.
Gresham, G. E.
Gribble, A. D.
Grier, A. Monro, K.C.
Grier, Sir Wyly
Grieve, John
Griffiths, F. D.
Grimbly, Maurice
Guest, A. E.
Gully, Harold M.
Gundy, J. H.
Gunn, Major General John A.

Hair, Dr. C. H.
Hall, I. C.
Hallman, Ivan
Ham, C. N.
Hambly, George
Hambourg, Boris
Hamilton, A. E.
Hamilton, C. S.
Hamilton, John
Hamilton, Leroy
Hamlin, Dr. Fred V.
Hammell, J. E.
Hanna, Wm. B.
Hanson, James M.
Harbinson, V. D.
Hardy, George

Hardy, H. R.
Hargraft, W. M.
Harpham, Cecil
Harpham, Horace
Harris, Goodwin R.
Harris, Jos. H.
Harrison, James F.
Harrison, Kenneth J.
Harton, E. Douglas
Harvey, Dr. W. J.
Hastings, C. E.
Hastings, Warren B.
Hawke, Eugene
Hawkins, V. S. G.
Hay, Frank
Hay, Ruthven
Hay, William G.
Hayden, Salter A.
Haynes, H. G.
Heintzman, Charles T.
Heintzman, Geo. C.
Helliar, W. G.
Henders, R. J.
Henderson, Robert
Hendrie, George C.
Henry, Hon. G. S.
Herbinson, Wm.
Herington, Gordon
Hermant, Percy
Hermant, Sydney
Herod, Wesley J.
Hethrington, Major E. A.
Hewetson, H. H.
Heymans, Phillippe
Hewson, E. G.
Higgins, Fred Page
Hill, F. W. J.
Hill, Roy C.
Hoadley, Hon. Geo.
Hobkirk, John F.
Hoblitzell, Fred G.
Hogarth, D. M.
Hogg, Dr. T. H.
Holliss, J. F.
Holmested, G. S.
Hookway, C. W.
Hooper, Col. B. O., D.S.O., M.C.
Hopkins, Dr. H. E.
Hopkins, Howard
Hopkins, Oliver B.
Hopkins, Percy E.
Horsfall, H. H.
Hotrum, Fredk.
Houghton, E. O.
Houston, H. C.
Howard, Clifford H.
Howe, C. D.
Howe, H. J.
Howse, Thos. H.
Huckvale, Robert
Hudson, J. P.
Huffman, Geo. E.
Hugill, Albert E.
Hugill, W. M.
Hulbig, F. M.
Humphrey, H. J.
Humphrey, Dr. John N.
Humphreys, W. Eason
Humphries, G. W.
Hunt, A. T.
Hunt, John F.
Hunter, B. B.
Hunter, E. J.
Hunter, Lt.-Col. F. Fraser
Hunter, H. T.
Hunter, K. M.
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Huston, J. A.
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Hyland, Jas. A.

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Innes, Captain W. C. C.
Irwin, John C. W.

Jackman, H. R.
Jacob, E. R.
Jaffray, W. G.
Jamieson, H. T.
Jamieson, John D.
Janes, Gordon
Jardine, William
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Jephcott, Gerald
Jerry, Carman A.

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Johnston, Dr. Samuel
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Jones, T. Roy

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Kent, Herbert B.
Kerr, Halbert J.
Kerr, John E.
Kerr, Rev. J. McD.
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King, E. W.
Kinghorn, A. A.
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Kirkpatrick, Col. A. E.
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Kirkpatrick, W. R.
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Kitchen, Walter

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Langlois, M. G.
Lascelles, G. A.
Laughton, H. V., K.C.
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Lawson, Frank G.
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Logie, Ben
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Lount, H. M.
Love, Harry H.
Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton

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Turner, James
Turville, Frank D.
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Von Maur, Jacob D.

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Watson, Dr. W. V.
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Wilson, Alex. L.
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Wilson, Geo.
Wilson, G. D.
Wilson, Lt. Col. R. S.
Wilson, T. A.
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Winter, L. A.
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Wright, E. Frank
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Young, H. G.
Young, John A.
Young, W. T.

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* Deceased after close of the Club's year.